A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF JAPANESE AND POLYNESIAN MYTHOLOGY WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO SELECTED COSMOGONY AND TRICKSTER MYTHS

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To my dearest parents,

Shozō and Tamako Tsuji

who brought me

to the miracle world of mythologies

in my childhood.

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Abstract

In this thesis, Japanese mythology is compared with Polynesian mythology. Particularly, two Polynesian myths are selected as comparative material. The first one is a Maori cosmogony myth, a South Island version of *Tāne*, the second one a Samoan trickster myth, *The Octopus and the Rat*.

Tāne is compared with the Japanese cosmogony myth, while *The Octopus and the Rat* is compared with the Japanese trickster myth, *the White Rabbit of Inaba*. Some common elements between the two mythologies and their origins are discussed in an analysis of the myths.

Both myths are also translated into Japanese. To my knowledge, this is the first time this version of *Tāne* and *The Octopus and the Rat* have been translated into Japanese.

Present Polynesian and Japanese migration theories and studies are also investigated, in order to explain the occurrence of similarities between both mythologies.

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Chapter I. Introduction: aims of the study

1. The links between Japanese and Polynesian myths.

In the field of Japanese mythology, comparative studies with Southeast Asia have been carried out since 1920.[1] Recently the comparative study of Japanese mythology with mythologies of other cultures from all over the world has become popular.[2] As a result, it has been accepted that Japanese mythology shares common elements with other cultures and that it is made up of various elements from other cultures.[3] Furthermore, it has been suggested that Japanese mythology has southern origins, particularly tracing back to Southeast Asia.

What may seem more surprising are the links between Japanese mythology and Polynesian mythology. Cultural historian Chogyū Takayama (1899), Japanese mythology specialists Nobuhiro Matsumoto (1931), Shizuo Matsuoka[4], Nora K. Chadwick (1930) and others pointed out at an early stage that Japanese mythology has elements in common with Maori mythology.[5] Since then many scholars have become interested in this subject. There is almost no doubt that Japanese myths share common elements with Polynesian myths.

One key point is how the close similarities between the two mythologies are to be explained. According to Chadwick and others, it is unlikely that elements of Polynesian mythology were brought directly from Japan or *vice versa*.[6] At present there are two hypotheses about the route by which mythology reached Japan. The first hypothesis contends that some elements of mythology were introduced indirectly from Polynesia via other places or cultures. Southeast

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[1]Ohbayashi, 1986: 266.

[2]Mizuno, 1996: 26-8.

[3]Gotō, 1997: 12-3; 199-200; Mizuno, 1996: 30-1.

[4]His theory is in his work Kiki Ronkyū vol.1.

[5]Chadwick, 1930: 425-7; 432-3; Matsumae, 1970: 50-2; Matsumoto, 1994: 158-179; 193-4; Ohbayashi, 1972: 176; Ohbayashi, 1973: 27-30; Ohbayashi, 1986: 224-315; Takagi, 1994: 82-88, Yoshida, 1974: 17-8.

[6]Chadwick, 1930: 442.

Asia or Southern China are suggested as intermediate points.[7] The other hypothesis is that some elements of the mythology originated in Southeast Asia and the mythology travelled in two directions along with the migration of people.[8] One route led from Southeast Asia to Japan, while the other was from Southeast Asia to Polynesia.[9] The latter hypothesis seems to be more probable.

However, the details of how mythology was brought to Japan have not yet been verified. For example, did the myths travel to Japan from Southeast Asia at the same time as they did from Southeast Asia to Polynesia? If so, when? At present the link between Japan and Southeast Asian mythology is under research, and several scholars have published research papers about the 'southern route', which reaches to Japan from Southeast Asia. However, the study of the link between Southeast Asian and Polynesian mythology has been neglected and much research on the route between Southeast Asia and Polynesia has yet to be done. Therefore, further study is required to prove the link between Japanese and Polynesian mythology. In this thesis, I shall trace the common origin of Japanese and Polynesian mythology through a discussion on similarities in the myths of Japan, Southeast Asia and Polynesia.

In societies where myths are still alive, mythology is often classified into two categories. Mircea Eliade terms these categories *true stories* and *false stories*.[10] *True stories* are those myths which deal with the origins of all sorts of things, such as the world (the beginning of the world, cosmogony, creation of the stars), death, animals, plants, and humans. They often list genealogies and mention true events. Actors tend to be divine, supernatural beings or human heroes. *True stories* are usually believed to be real, and they relate the human condition, explaining primordial events and mortality, gender, organized society, the obligation to work in order to live, and the need to behave in accordance with certain rules.

False stories on the other hand, are tales and fables which explain certain

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[7] Ohbayashi, 1986: 235.

[8] Kakubayashi, 1996-a: 37-40; Kakubayashi, 1996-b: 8.

[9] Chadwick, 1930: 442-6.

[10] Eliade, 1963: 8-9.

anatomical or physiological peculiarities of animals. Actors are usually heroes or miraculous animals who are often cast in the role of trickster. They do not change, or attempt to explain, the human condition.[11] Both *true stories* and *false stories* are discussed in chapters III to VI.

2. Limitations of the study

It is clear that Japanese mythology shares common elements with Polynesian mythology. However, there are limitations to this study because there are always common motifs in all mythologies.[12] For instance, Japanese mythology and Greek mythology have some elements in common, even though the two countries are far away from each other and it is unlikely that there ever was any migration movement between them.[13] All societies may have universal ideas about certain elements; for example, darkness seen as a sign of death, or an underworld which is thought to exist under the earth. Since human beings have similar experiences and to a large extent observe the same natural phenomena, it is only natural that some of their ways of explaining the world must sometimes coincide. Thus certain motifs may arise in two or more places quite independently of each other. This means that we can never be sure that motifs shared by mythologies of two different countries did not arise independently. However, when a large number of motifs or elements are shared, this is less likely to have occurred through chance coincidence.

3. Translations of Maori and Samoan myths into Japanese

Although the similarity between Polynesian mythology (including Maori mythology) and Japanese mythology has been pointed out before, materials on Polynesian and Maori mythology are in short supply in Japan, and there is no detailed academic material on Polynesian and Maori mythology in Japanese. Thus, in Japan it is difficult to do further study on this topic at present. There is no university or institute in Japan which has a Department of Maori Studies.

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[11]Ibid: 8-11; 22-3.

[12]Matsumoto, 1995: 16.

[13]Yoshida, 1974: 8-19.

Therefore, it is important to translate selected myths into Japanese, and thus facilitate further investigations into the relation between Japanese mythology and Polynesian mythology.

In this dissertation, I propose to first translate a South Island Maori cosmogony myth into English. Then, this myth and a Samoan trickster myth are presented in Japanese, following their original meaning as closely as possible. This is followed by a commentary on both myths. Finally, I shall discuss the translated mythology in comparison with similar Japanese mythology. The result will be a step towards clarifying the origins of Japanese mythology. Moreover, I believe that I shall add to the Maori and Samoan literature available to Japanese people by translating these myths into Japanese.

Since mythology tells us a great deal about culture and folk-custom, the study of mythology links with the study of culture. This dissertation could help to support the hypothesis that some common elements were brought to both Japan and Polynesia from Southeast Asia, by presenting similarities between two mythologies.

I believe that this kind of study will contribute to discovering the origins of Japanese mythology and culture.

Chapter II. Prehistoric Migration in the Western Pacific Rim

Background to research on the origins of Japanese myths in relation to Polynesia. The latest theories about the origins of Japanese mythology, and its links with Polynesia: Southeast Asian route; similarities between both cultures.

As mentioned in Chapter I, some scholars, such as Chadwick and Kakubayashi, have argued that some elements of mythology in Southeast Asia were introduced to Polynesia and Japan around the same time, carried by migrating people.[1] Recent studies also show that there are linguistic, cultural and genetic similarities between Japanese, Southeast Asians and Polynesians. Archaeological and cultural anthropological studies suggest that it is feasible that some migration movements occurred from Southeast Asia to Japan, and from Southeast Asia to Polynesia.

This chapter examines prehistoric migration movements and also cultural, genetic and linguistic similarities between Japan, Southeast Asia and Polynesia, in order to demonstrate the possibility of transmission of mythology among these peoples, and the likely directions of transmission.

1. Migration movements between Japan, Southeast Asia and Polynesia[2]

(1) Early possibilities

Because the sea level during the late Pleistocene era[3] was considerably lower than it is today, the main Japanese islands and most of the islands in Southeast Asia were joined together with the Asian main land forming a large land mass called Sundaland, while another large land mass, which was made up of present-day New Guinea and Australia, is called Sahulland. This means that early

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[1]Chadwick suggests that the time when the initial migration took place was around the eighth century, while Kakubayashi argues that it was around 2000 BC (Chadwick, 1930: 442-6; Kakubayashi, 1996-a: 37-40; Kakubayashi, 1996-b: 8-12).

[2]As a result of recent studies, some dates of migrations of people have become clearer. However, the following dates are still all subject to much debate.

[3]The Pleistocene is from around 1.6 million to 10,000 years ago.

migration movements between Japan, Southeast Asia and Polynesia are feasible. For example, it is thought that the ancestors of the modern aborigines in Australia migrated from Southeast Asia in the last ice age when Malacca Strait, Torres Strait and Bass Strait did not exist.[4]

(2) Later possibilities

i) Migration from Southeast Asia to Japan

Another indication that migrants from Southeast Asia existed in southern Kyūshū is the existence of records of accidental drifting from Southeast Asia to Japan. According to *Nihon shoki* (AD 720), one of Japan's earliest chronicles, in AD 654 "*Two men and two women of the land of Tokara and one woman of Sravasti were driven by a storm to the Hyuga Province of Japan*". Sravasti is an Indian place name, and Tokara is thought to be a place name in Thailand.[5] According to Kawakami (1979), some experiments have proved that winds which occur during monsoons and typhoons could carry migrants from Southeast Asia to southern Kyūshū and Okinawa. Furthermore, results of oceanographic research on ocean current movement around Japan show that it is possible to drift directly from Southeast Asia to the southern part of Kyūshū.[6] These records and experiments indicate that it is possible for the Black Current or Japanese Current[7] to carry canoes directly from Southeast Asia to Taiwan or southern Kyūshū. The Okinawa islands, Hachijō island and Aogashima island, which are located further south, in the Izu Shotō islands, can be reached from Austronesia (Indonesia and Oceania) and Southeast Asia by means of the Japanese Current. The cultures of these islands are distinguished from those further to their north, and are closer to Southeast Asian and Polynesian

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[4]Davidson, 1987: 17; Ikeda, 1991: 281; Hanihara, T., 1993: 294; Raymond and Thorne, 1989: 42. It is believed that the Japanese islands attained present-day appearance less than around 17,000 years ago. (Serizawa, 1974: 132-3.)

[5]Inoue, 1996: 62-3; Kakubayashi, 1981: 517; Kakubayashi, 1996-a: 37-40; Kakubayashi, 1996-b: 10.

[6]Kakubayashi, 1981: 515-6; Kakubayashi, 1996-b: 11-2.

[7] A warm current which flows from near the Philippines north to Taiwan, and then along the Nansei Shotō island group on the Pacific side of the Japanese archipelago. It forms a part of the return current in the subtropical zones.

culture.[8]

ii) Migration from Southeast Asia to Polynesia

A. Lapita Pottery and Polynesian Migration

A major clue towards understanding Polynesian migration was the epoch-making discovery of the Lapita site in 1952 .[9]

Fragments of reddish pottery were found in an eroding bank at the back of the beach in Lapita on the south coast of New Caledonia. The pottery pieces have distinguishing features, being modelled in various shapes, such as pot-shaped and bowl-shaped, with a stamped or incised design. The designs on some shards are complex and precise, with geometric shapes, eyes, human faces, concentric circles and shields. The type of pottery and the culture were named after Lapita, the place where the pottery was initially discovered.[10]

Similar pottery shards were subsequently also found in other places. Sites were discovered throughout Melanesia, from Mussau north of New Guinea, the Admiralty Islands, the Bismarck Archipelago, offshore islands in New Britain, the Solomons, Vanuatu, to the Ile des Pins at the southern tip of New Caledonia, Fiji, and also in West Polynesian areas such as Tonga and Western Samoa. It was the first time this type of pottery had been discovered in the region between Melanesia and Western Polynesia. According to radio-carbon dating, occupation of the sites occurred somewhere between 1500 BC and 500 BC.[11]

Since the form and design of Lapita pottery gradually simplified over the years, and pottery-making completely ceased around the beginning of the Christian

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[8]Inoue,1975: 166-8 ; Inoue, 1996: 62-3; Kakubayashi, 1981: 517; Kakubayashi, 1996-a: 37-40; Kakubayashi, 1996-b: 10; Kawakami, 1979: 25-9; Kitami, 1979: 44; Turner, 1995: 227-8.

[9]Kirch, 1997: 6-14; 52-78; 118-40; Raymond and Thorne, 1989: 254.

[10]Davidson, 1987: 19-20; 27-8; Davidson, 1992: 4; Green, 1994: 31-9; Kirch, 1997: 6-14; 52-78; 118-40; Raymond and Thorne, 1989: 254-5.

[11]Davidson, 1987: 19-20; 27-8; Davidson, 1992: 4; Green, 1994: 31-9; Kirch, 1997: 6-14; 52-78; 118-40; Raymond and Thorne, 1989: 254-5.

era,[12] the drift of migration can be inferred from the distribution of the Lapita sites to have taken place from west to east. Lapita People probably sailed east past the islands of Melanesia and settled New Caledonia and Vanuatu (New Hebrides), then moved further east to Fiji and West Polynesia. Fiji, Samoa and Tonga, and other western Polynesian areas were settled by 1000 BC. Therefore, the Lapita people are considered to be the ancestors of the Polynesians.[13]

According to recent archaeological evidence, West Polynesians continued to move eastward, reaching Central Eastern Polynesian islands such as the Societies, Cook Islands and Marquesas and settling there, and subsequently developing eastern Polynesian culture. The date of their settlement is still being considered. However, the radio-carbon dating suggests that it was probably some time in the last centuries BC. The Marquesas are believed to have been settled by around AD 300. Lastly migration took place to the remoter parts of Eastern Polynesia, Hawaii, Easter Island and New Zealand. These arrival dates are still being debated. However, radio-carbon dating suggest that Hawaii and Easter Island were settled by about AD 600, and New Zealand by around AD 800 or 1000.[14]

New Zealand is believed to be the last settlement in Eastern Polynesia. On archeological evidence, at present the original homeland of Maori is thought to have been Central Polynesia, including the Societies, Marquesas and Southern Cooks with Mangareva, the Australs and Pitcairn, since multiple migrations from different areas are possible. Linguistic studies suggest that the Rarotongan language is the closest to Maori.[15]

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[12]Davidson, 1987: 19-20; Davidson, 1992: 4; Green, 1994: 42; Kirch, 1997: 77-8; Raymond and Thorne, 1989: 255.

[13]Davidson, 1987: 20-1; Davidson, 1992: 4; Green, 1994: 40-4; Raymond and Thorne, 1989: 256.

[14]Davidson, 1987: 21-3; Davidson, 1992: 4-7; Green, 1994: 40-4; Raymond and Thorne, 1989: 256-8; Sutton, 1994: 244-6.

[15]Biggs, 1994: 96-9; 101; 103-4; Davidson, 1987: 19-22; 27-8; Davidson, 1992: 4; Davidson, 1994: 208-18; Kirch, 1997: 6-14; 52-78; 118-40; Harlow, 1994: 117-8; Sutton, 1994: 10-3; 251; Walter, 1994: 220.

B. Origins of Lapita people and Migration from Southeast Asia to Melanesia

The Pacific islands are believed to have been connected to the Southeast Asian mainland, during the Middle and Late Pleistocene era, when sea levels were much lower than at present. This combined land area is called Sundaland. As a result, it was much easier to travel among neighbouring islands. New Guinea was settled from Southeast Asia at least 50,000 years ago. However, little is known about the settlement and prehistory of Melanesia before about 3000 years ago.[16]

The discovery of Lapita pottery also provided clues to the origins of the Lapita people. Pottery with similar styles of decoration was also found in Southeast Asia, including Vietnam, Taiwan, the Philippines, Sulawesi and Halmahera, dating from about 3000 BC in Taiwan to 1600 BC on Halmahera. The original homeland of the Lapita people is unknown, but it is suggested that their ancestors reached the northern part of Melanesia from eastern Indonesia, the Philippines or the coast of Asia around 4000 years ago.[17]

The material culture of the Lapita people shows Southeast Asian origins. Lapita people did not have either metal tools or a practice of rice cultivation. They used stone adzes, and tools made from shells. They relied on coconuts, breadfruit, bananas, sugarcane, and taro for plant foods and the pig, the dog and the chicken, which probably orginated in Southeast Asia, for livestock.[18]

They were also skillful at boat-building and further developed their navigation and canoe-making skills in Melanesia. They may have used the kind of bamboo raft seen in mainland Asia, Southeast Asia and Indonesia, which is designed to be unsinkable, with a number of bulkheads creating watertight compartments. Wood and bamboo rafts are also distributed throughout the Pacific Islands.[19]

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[16]David, 1987: 17-8; Green, 1994: 19-20; 26-30; Raymond and Thorne, 1989: 42; Turner: 1995: 227.

[17]Green, 1994: 38-9; Raymond and Thorne, 1989: 255.

[18]Davidson, 1987: 18; Davidson, 1992: 4; Raymond and Thorne, 1989: 257.

[19]Green, 1994, 22: Lewis, 1977: 4-7; Raymond and Thorne, 1989: 39-41; Turner: 1995: 227.

The Lapita terms for sailing, parts of boats and navigation are different from those found in the Melanesian language. The language spoken by the Lapita people, which was one of the Austronesian languages and widely spoken in Southeast Asia, was probably unrelated to Melanesian languages.[20] Bellwood argues that Lapita pottery is found in early Austronesian-speaking areas.[21]

2. Similarities between Asians, Southeast Asians and Polynesians

(1) The Jōmon Japanese

i) The Southeast Asian origins of the Jōmon people of Japan.

There is an interesting hypothesis about the origins of the ancient Japanese people, which shows a link with Southeast Asia and Austronesia. Due to modern technology, new discoveries have contributed towards finding out the origins of Japanese. However, the results are far from simple.[22]

The following are current theories and discoveries about the origins of Japanese. Modern Japanese are classified as Mongoloid because of their physical characteristics: straight black hair, brown eyes with epicanthic fold, and yellowish brown skin.[23]

One of the earliest people to have settled in Japan, the Jōmon, are generally thought to have originally settled in the southern part of Kyūshū Island and the Okinawa areas,[24] although Jōmon bones have been found all over Japan.[25] According to radio-carbon dating of pottery which is thought to have been made by the Jōmon, they probably settled in Japan around 11,000 BC and

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[20]Raymond and Thorne, 1989: 255-6.

[21]Kirch, 1997: 47-52; 141; Raymond and Thorne, 1989: 254-6.

[22]Hanihara, K., 1993: 258; 270-1; Hanihara, T., 1993: 292; Katayama, 1996: 26-8; Tanabe, 1993: 415.

[23]Aikens and Higuchi, 1982: 3.

[24]Ōsaka Furitsu Yayoi Bunka Hakubutsukan, 1991: 54-6; Sahara, 1991: 218-9.

[25]Hanihara, K., 1993: 263; Nakamoto, 1994: 313.

developed their distinctive culture until around 500 BC when a new migration occurred, that of the Yayoi people, who had a different culture.[26] One theory states that one of the origins of Jōmon pottery is Southeast Asia because of design similarities.[27]

Although the Jōmon people would have settled ca.10,000 years ago, the oldest human remains found in Japan which are considered to be the direct ancestors of the modern Japanese are dated to ca.18,500 years ago. Hisashi Suzuki and his study group from Tokyo University reported in 1982 that they found these remains at Minatogawa in Okinawa. Suzuki argues that the physical characteristics of the Minatogawa people were similar to those of the same aged Ryūkō people at Guangxi Zhuangzu Autonomous Region in southern China but very different from the same aged Jyōdo people in Hebei Sheng Zhoukoudian in northern China. The Minatogawa people also share common physical features with the Jōmon people, since both the Jōmon and the Minatogawa belong to the southern Asian group.[28] The original homeland of the Jōmon people therefore appears to be Southeast Asia.

At the end of the 1970s, it was concluded that the ancestors of the modern Japanese can be traced to two distinct origins: the Jōmon who belonged to the southern Mongoloid group (including Southeast Asians and the Pacific islanders such as Micronesians and Polynesians) and the Yayoi who belonged to the northern Mongoloids (including Northeast Asians and Tibetans). Furthermore, recent studies suggest that the physical characteristics of the Lapita people are similar to those of the Jōmon people, Polynesians and some Micronesians.

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[26]Aikens and Akazawa, 1986: xi; Collcutt, Martin; Jansen, Marius and Kumakura Isao, 1988:8-9; Esaka, 1974: 23-35; 40-69; 87-106; Hanihara, K., 1993: 263-4; Hōrai, 1993: 338; Katayama, 1996: 19-23; Nakamoto, 1996: 311; Suzuki, 1993: 387. The Yayoi people appear to have come mainly from the southern part of the Korean peninsula into western Japan and spread eastwards and southwards. According to radio-carbon dating, the Yayoi people settled in the northern part of Kyūshū around 500-300 BC and developed their culture until around AD 300. They are considered to have brought wet rice cultivation to Japan, which the Jōmon did not have. They are also believed to have made a type of pottery which is different from the Jōmon pottery. (Hanihara, K., 1993: 263; Kakubayashi, 1996-b: 9; Katayama, 1996: 19-23; Omoto, 1995: 93-4; Ōsaka Furitsu Yayoi Bunka Hakubutsukan, 1991: 54-6; Sahara, 1991: 218-9; Suzuki, 1993: 387.)

[27]Esaka, 1974: 94.

[28]Ikeda, 1991: 293-6; Hanihara, K., 1993: 262-4; Hanihara, T., 1993: 292; Katayama, 1996: 26-8; Nei, 1995: 78.

Genetic studies support the view that the northern Mongoloids and the southern Mongoloids should be classified as two distinct clusters. Therefore, it is postulated that the modern Japanese are the result of miscegenation between the two groups.[29]

The following genetic study and physical and molecular anthropological studies support such conclusions.

Results of studies by Kohama of the physical characteristics of modern Japanese[30] which were published in 1960 and 1968 show that the people of the Inland Sea region and South Koreans are likely to be roundheaded or brachycephalic.[31] The people of northeastern Japan tend to be longheaded. Kohama concludes that the native Japanese Ainu and northeastern Japanese can be classified together, while South Korean and southwestern Japanese belong to another group. The physical characteristics of the Jōmon are as follows: short height, a long head, a short face.[32] Since the Ainu are also of short stature, have long heads and short faces, they can be identified as the descendants of the Jōmon. The migrants who arrived later were of South Korean origin, of tall stature, had short heads and long faces and can be identified as Yayoi.[33] A study of fingerprint variations and blood groups by Susumu Ōno in 1970 also proposed the same result.[34]

Recent studies of DNA and teeth shaping corroborate the evidence that the

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[29]Aikens and Higuchi, 1882: 7; Hanihara, K., 1993: 264-6; Hanihara. T., 1993: 292-6; Nakamoto, 1994: 317-8; Omoto, 1995: 92-7.

[30]Including cranial dimensions; stature; relative proportions of limbs and torso; nose, eyelid, and earlobe form; and the ability or inability to taste the chemical phenylthiocarbamide (PTC).

[31]Aikens and Higuchi, 1882: 4; Nakamoto, 1994: 312.

[32]Ikeda, 1991: 283-5; Nakamoto, 1994: 312; Ōsaka Furitsu Yayoi Bunka Hakubutsukan, 1991: 56.

[33]Ikeda, 1991: 301-12; Aikens and Higuchi, 1882: 7; Nakamoto, 1994: 317-8; Omoto, 1995: 92-4.

[34]Aikens and Higuchi, 1882: 3-7; Nakamoto, 1994: 322-24; Ōsaka Furitsu Yayoi Bunka Hakubutsukan, 1991: 54-6; Sahara, 1991: 218-9.

Jōmon people had a southern origin.[35] C. G. Turner, an American antholopologist, has classified Asian people's teeth into the following two groups: Sundadonty (southern type) and Sinodonty (Chinese type)[36]. The Jōmon people belong to the Sundadonty group, which includes modern Taiwanese, Philipinos, Borneans, Indonesians, Thailanders, Laotians and Malaysians. Recent DNA research by Satoshi Hōrai from the National Genetic Institute in 1988 shows that mitochondrial DNA sequences (the arrangement of DNA, which is contained in the mitochondrian)[37] extracted from the skeletons of the early Jōmon dating to ca. 5,800 years old matched the mitochondrial DNA (mt DNA) of modern Southeast Asians (Malaysians and Indonesians).[38] Moreover, the Jōmon mitochondrial DNA sequences matched those of modern Japanese, Southeast Asians but not those of a northern Asian group. Thus this study also corroborates that the Jōmon had southern origins.[39]

ii) Jōmon culture

Japanese Jōmon culture was still based on hunting, gathering and the same stone age technology as that of the Southeast Asians and Polynesians who occupied an area in the Pacific that stretched from the coast of New Guinea to Easter Island, and from Hawaii to New Zealand, when many other parts of the world had already adopted metal culture.[40] Jōmon pottery is similar to Lapita pottery: for instance, both potteries have decorations of human faces on them. They are likely to share a common origin.[41]

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[35]Sahara, 1991: 218.

[36]Turner termed Mongoloid dental complex Sundadonty and Sinodonty in his work *Sinodonty and Sundadonty* in 1983. (Turner, 1995: 222.

[37]There is a racial distinction in the arrangement of the organic base if you examine the DNA which is contained in the mitochondrian. (Sahara, 1991: 218.)

[38]Hanihara, K., 1993: 264; Hanihara, T., 1993: 291-2; Hōrai, 1993: 338-40 ; Hōrai, 1995: 177; Katayama, 1996: 26-8; Nakamoto, 1994: 312; Sahara 1991: 218.

[39]Hanihara, K., 1993: 263-4; Hanihara, T., 1993: 292; Hōrai, 1993: 338-41; Tanabe, 1993: 414.

[40]Raymond and Thorne, 1989: 270.

[41]Katayama, 1996: 26-8.

(2) The Ainu and the Okinawans

i) The southern origins of the Ainu and the Okinawans

There is also an interesting link between the native Japanese Ainu people, the Okinawans (also known as the Ryūkyū people), Southeast Asians and Austronesia. Studies into the origins of Japanese have been carried out since the early nineteenth century. Philipp Franz von Siebold, who arrived at Dejima island in Nagasaki as a doctor in 1823, surmised that the Japanese were close to Mongolians and that Jōmon people were ancestors of the Ainu. A pathologist called Erwin von Baelz, who was employed by the Meiji government after the Meiji Restoration, pointed out the similarity between the Ainu and the Okinawans and proposed that the Ainu and the Okinawans be classified as belonging to the same group.[42]

The Okinawans were isolated and preserved their own culture until the Ryūkyū kingdom was conquered by the fief of Shimazu at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The Ainu too were left alone by the central government until the end of the medieval period. Several scholars have pointed out that the Ainu and the Okinawans are culturally and genetically similar and that both have largely retained the Jōmon type characteristics.[43] Since, as mentioned earlier, Jōmon skeletons have been found all over Japan, some of the Jōmon may have moved northwards, being pushed by the influx of Yayoi people, and may have become the ancestors of the Ainu, while others stayed on the Japanese mainland, in the Kyūshū region, and in the Okinawa area as the Okinawans.[44]

In 1881 Von Schrenck proposed that the Ainu belonged to what he called the "Palae-asiatic" race. Because they have been settled in the northern-most island called Hokkaidō for many centuries, they were long considered to be from the North and to belong to the Caucasoids. However, a recent DNA study suggests that the provenance of the Ainu is likely to have been Southeast

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[42]Hanihara, K., 1993: 258.

[43]Kanaseki, 1996: 101-6; Sahara 1991: 219.

[44]Ikeda, 1991: 311; Kakubayashi, 1996-b: 10; Nei, 1995: 77-8; Ōsaka Furitsu Yayoi Bunka Hakubutsukan, 1991: 54-6; Sahara, 1991: 218-9.

Asia.[45] Sternberg, Rebin, Kazurō Hanihara (1974), Ishiwatari (1984), Hōrai (1991), Kozintsev (1990), Katayama (1996) and others argue that the Ainu can be identified with the Jōmon people because of their common physical characteristics with Southeast Asians, and some conclude that the homeland of the Ainu is Southeast Asia.[46] The latest genetic study shows that the Ainu and the Okinawans belong to the Southern Mongoloid group. The Ainu and the Okinawans have the distinctive physical features of the Southern Mongoloid: long head, short face, deep nose, epicanthic eye-fold.[47]

Recent studies in several fields also support the view that the origin of the Ainu and the Okinawans lies in Southeast Asia. These include Ossenberg's (1986) study of the physical features of skulls, in which it was found that Siberians are closer to modern western Japanese rather than eastern Japanese. A similar type of study by Momo and Ishida (1988) concluded that Yayoi skulls belonged to the same group as northeast Asians and modern Japanese, whereas the Ainu and Jōmon Japanese together belonged to another group. The study also showed that the Jōmon had elements in common with the Ainu, the people in the Nansei Shotō islands and Southeast Asians. The prehistoric Southeast Asians and the Dayak are clearly different from the Australoids, including Australian Aborigines and Melanesians. Therefore, the basic Southeast Asian group shares common features with the Negrito and the Jōmon, who were not genetically influenced by East Asians for ca. 10,000 years. The physical features of the prehistoric Southeast Asians are placed between Australian Aborigines and modern Southeast and East Asians, although they are rather closer to Southeast Asians. The skull features of Northeast Asians differ from those of Southeast Asians, including the Negrito. In short, the origins of Jōmon on the basis of skull features trace back to Southeast Asia.[48]

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[45]Katayama, 1996: 25-8; Nakamoto, 1994: 330-2; Omoto, 1995: 92-3.

[46]Hanihara, K., 1993: 270; Hōrai, 1993: 338-41; Hōrai, 1995: 171-7; Katayama, 1996: 24-8; Nakamoto, 1994: 311-3; 331-2; Omoto, 1995: 94-99.

[47]Hanihara, K., 1993: 270; Katayama, 1996: 25-8; Nakamoto, 1995: 326; Sahara 1991: 218.

[48]Hanihara, K., 1993: 265; Hanihara, T., 1993: 300-6.

As mentioned earlier, Turner classified Asian people's teeth into two groups: Sinodonty and Sundadonty. Turner and Hanihara also investigated the teeth of the Ainu and the Jōmon. The result showed that the teeth group of the Jōmon, the Ainu and the Okinawans were very similar, all of them belonging to the Sundadonty category which includes the Negritos. They therefore concluded that the teeth of the Ainu and the Okinawans share common features with those of Southeast Asians, while the teeth group of the Ainu is close to that of Polynesians and Micronesians. According to more detailed research of shapes of teeth, Southeast Asians can be placed between the Jōmon and people of the Nansei Shotō islands on the one hand and people in the Pacific islands on the other. The Negritos are close to the Dayak, who are genetically similar to other Southeast Asians and are considered to be indigenous Borneans and to have migrated from southern China some tens of thousands years ago. Both the Negritos and the Dayak are close to a group of the prehistoric Southeast Asians.[49]

Omoto, who studied regional differences in ear wax types (1966 to 1972 and in1984), found that *wajin* (non-Ainu Japanese) and South Koreans tend to have dry ear wax, while the Ainu and the Japanese of the Nansei Shotō islands (Satsuma and Okinawa Islands) tend to have moist ear wax, similar to that of the Taiwanese and the Indonesians.[50]

Blood groups and blood constituents have received much attention too. Omoto's study of blood groups (1966 to 1972, 1984, 1995) concludes that the Ainu are descendants of 'proto-Mongoloids', who inhabited what is now Japan between 30,000–2,300 BP; the study also found that they have similarities with the Negrito who are the indigenous people of the Philippines. On the other hand, *wajin* are descendants of the Yayoi 'newcomers', who probably arrived from the Korean Peninsula around 500 BC. A study of blood types by Misawa et al (1966 to 1972) found that rhesus negative is very rare among Japanese except for Ainu and Okinawans. Moreover, the rate of one of the compounded genes

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[49]Hanihara, K., 1993: Hanihara, T., 1993: 270; 297-300; Omoto, 1993: 321; Sahara, 1991: 218.

[50]Nakamoto, 1994: 329-330; 332, Nakane, 1980: 214-5; Omoto; 1993: 316; Sahara, 1991: 218; Turner II, 1995: 222-30.

in Rh neg blood, Cde or cdE, shows endogamy between the Ainu and Okinawans.[51]

A 1972 study of Human Leucocyte Antigen (HLA), a group of white blood cells also indicates that the Ainu and Okinawans are closely related. It also found that the Ainu are related to Filipinos, Central American Indians, Malaysians, and Indonesians.[52] Matsumoto (1988), in his study of the Gm gene in blood, ascertained that the rate of occurrence of one of the Gm genes, afb1b3, is similar in both Ainu and Okinawans.[53]

The study of immunity has also been revealing. HBs is an antigen which is in the surface of particles of the hepatitis B virus. HBs has four groups, two of which are found in Japan. One of these two, the adr group, is found in mainland China, South Korea and all of Japan apart from the Nansei Shotō islands and the northern tip of the northeastern Tohoku district. The second group, the adw group, is found mainly in Taiwan, the Philippines, the southern regions of Southeast Asia and the Nansei Shotō islands and the northern tip of Tohoku. These results suggest that the ancestors of the Ainu probably brought the adw group to Japan from the south.[54] Another study, conducted by Hinuma in 1986 on adult T-cell leukemia (ATL) discovered that carriers of this virus are commonly found among the peoples of the Nansei Shotō islands, the Kyūshū Islands and the Ainu of Japan, as well as among native Filipinos, Melanesians, indigenous Papua New Guineans and Australian aborigines. By contrast, carriers of the ATL virus were rare among South Koreans and Chinese. The conclusion is that the ATL virus was possibly introduced into Japan from the south by the Ainu, since it has not been found in the areas surrounding the Japanese islands.[55]

Dogs are the oldest domesticated animal and they usually migrate along with

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[51]Ikeda, 1991: 325; Nakamoto, 1994: 324-6; Omoto, 1993: 314-5; 320; Ueyama, 1980: 147.

[52]Jūji and Tokunaga, 1993: 347; 352-3; Nakamoto, 1994: 327-9, 332.

[53]Nakamoto, 1994: 326.

[54]Ibid: 332-3.

[55]Hinuma, 1993: 356-62; Ikeda, 1991: 323-3; Nakamoto, 1994: 333.

the migration of people. Human migration can therefore be traced via the origins of the Japanese dog. A study of dogs' DNA in blood indicates the migration path of dogs.[56] A study on genes of the Ainu dog also shows the southern origin of the Ainu (Hokkaidō) dog. In 1980, 1992 and 1993 Tanabe researched various genes of dogs and concluded that the genetic composition of the Ainu dog has a close relationship with that of the native dogs of Taiwan and the dog which originated in the southern part of China, while it is distant from the dogs of the Eskimo. He also pointed out that the other sorts of dogs in Japan (the Akita dog, the Shiba dog, the Kishū dog and so on) are close to the native Korean dog, the Chintō dog. The Kyūkyū dog of the northern part of mainland Okinawa is genetically similar to the Ainu dog and the native dog of Taiwan. A study on shapes of dogs' skulls showed the same result. This study suggests that ancestors of the Ainu brought the Ainu dog with them to Japan, and that subsequently a new sort of dog came via the Korean Peninsula, which mixed with the Ainu dog. These two became the ancestors of the modern breeds of Japanese dog.[57]

Distribution of the house mouse also suggests the southern origin of the Ainu. Moriwaki et al. (1990) researched and explained the distribution of the house mouse in the Japanese islands. Since house mice move along with people's migration, eating crops which humans grow, it is quite appropriate to use migration of house mice as a method of tracing human migration. A study of mt DNA taken from mice showed that the mice in Hokkaidō and the northern part of the northeast region in Japan belonged to the *kasutaneusu* group of mice which is found in Southeast Asia, India, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, the Philippines, Taiwan and southern China south of the Yangtze-Kiang river, whereas the mice which occur in the southern part of Tohoku, Shikoku island, and Kyūshū island belonged to the *musukurusu* group mouse which is seen in Russia, eastern Europe, the northern part of China north of the Chang River. The *kasutaneusu* group mouse probably entered Japan when people migrated with crops several thousands of years ago and they spread all over Japan. It is feasible that the *kasutaneusu* group mouse came along with the migration of

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[56]Tanabe, 1993: 397.

[57]Nakamoto, 1994: 333; Tanabe, 1993: 402-10; 412-5; 418-9.

the Jōmon/Ainu from the south, since the Jōmon had begun to grow crops. Later, the *musukurusu* group mouse arrived when people migrated from the northern part of China or the Korean Peninsula, and pushed the *kasutaneusu* group mouse further north.[58]

From the above research, it can be concluded that the Ainu and the Okinawans belong to the Southern Mongoloid and their provenance is the south. They are likely to be the indigenous Japanese who came from the south, spread towards the north and once lived all over Japan.

As we have seen, studies in genetics, physical anthropology and so on give much information about the origins of the Ainu and Okinawans. In addition, studies of the culture of these people indicate similarities between the Ainu, the Okinawans, Southeast Asians, Austronesians and people in southern Kyūshū regions including the Nansei Shotō islands.

ii) Ainu and Okinawan Culture

Sternberg (1929) argued that Ainu culture originated in the south. For instance, the Ainu hammock, which is called 'shinta', is similar to the hammock which is used in Sulawesi.[59]

Ainu women, especially those with high status, have tattoos around their lips. Similar tatooing is widely seen in Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia. For instance, before the Europeans came high born Maori women had a tattoo around their lips and chin while high born Maori men were usually tattooed on their faces, thighs, arms and buttocks.[60] Ainu tattooing traditions could have a common origin with those of the South Pacific islands.

Cultures both in the Okinawa area as well as those of islands in the Pacific Ocean seem to share common origins with those of Austronesia. The following

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[58]Nakamoto, 1994: 333-4; Moriwaki and Yonekawa, 1993; 424; 427-9.

[59]Nakamoto, 1994: 335.

[60]Aoyagi, 1997: 40.

Japanese customs are likely to have originated from Austronesia: taking a siesta, sitting cross-legged, walking barefooted, tatooing, *ohaguro* (dying one's teeth black)[61], *fundoshi* (a loincloth or G-string for men). Tattooing and *fundoshi* are considered to belong to the Austronesian culture. It is common in both Japan and Austronesia that women wear a waistcloth instead of *fundoshi*. In Austronesia, the blackening of teeth is achieved through the chewing of *kinma* leaves. In Japan, iron rust and tannin were used for this purpose.[62]

The earth or stone ovens and the grave yards of the Maori are similar to those of the Okinawans.

Some aspects of the culture in Hachijōjima Island could have originated in Austronesia or Southeast Asia. For instance the *funarei* belief, in which a pre-menarchial girl aged seven or eight was sacrificed as a sacred spirit to canoes, and which was only seen in Hachijōjima Island and Miyakejima Island (both in the Izu Shotō islands) in Japan, may have originated from Oceania. In traditional Maori custom, human sacrifice was also offered in a rite for newly built canoes (launching of a new war canoe).[63]

A number of axes made from shell, and aged between 1,800 to 2,500 years old, which showed design features that were similar to those found in the Philippines, were discovered at a site in Urazoko on Miyako jima Island (Okinawa).[64]

Diet in southern Kyūshū and Okinawa also seems to be associated with that in Austronesia and Southeast Asia. The potato is a common crop in southern Kyūshū and Okinawa. In Japan yams are called '*yama*', '*tororo*' or '*naga*' potatoes, while sweet potatoes are called '*satsuma*' potatoes. Historical

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[61]*Ohaguro* was common among women in the upper classes in ancient Japanese society. Later the custom spread among men as well. In the Muromachi period (1338-1773), girls around the age of nine had blackened teeth as the sign of coming age. In the Edo period (1600-1867) all married women blackened their teeth. (Shinmura, 1972: 317.)

[62]Yamanaka, 1979: 124.

[63]Best, 1974: 74-5; 204; Best, 1986-a: 17; Kitami, 1979: 44-6; Shortland, 1956: 6.

[64]Kakubayashi, 1996-b: 12.

documents[65] state that the Japanese sweet potato was introduced to the Satsuma region (southern Kyūshū) from the Ryūkyū islands at least in the seventeenth century. It is possible that this took place much earlier, but no records of this are available. At any rate, *Seikeizusetsu*, which was written towards the end of the Edo period, states that a farmer from the Satsuma region brought sweet potatoes from Okinawa in 1705.[66] Another account tells that sweet potato plants were brought from Fuchien province in south China by a farmer Sunahokahachi from in the Ōshima islands in the Izushotō islands.[67] Therefore it is clear that Japanese sweet potato cultivation originated in Southeast Asia.

iii) The Ainu language

Until recently the Ainu language was believed to have belonged to a northern Asian group. However Murayama (1992) and Sakiyama (1990 and 1993) argue that the language of the Ainu is Austronesian.[68] Murayama lists some Ainu words which seem to be related to Austronesian languages. For example, *Kem*, meaning 'blood' could have originated from *gambu* (blood) in the Melanesian language.[69] Ainu also has other similar elements to the Austronesian languages. Ainu often omits the word ending, as do the languages of the central Carolinian of the Micronesian language group as well as languages in the Banks Islands and Torres Islands of Melanesia.[70] One of the characteristics of Ainu is combined conjugations. Combined conjugations are also seen in the central Carolinian of the Micronesian language group.[71]

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[65] *Richādo Kokkusu no Nikki* (1615), *Yamato Honsō, Kindai Yogotodan, Seiryōki* (1661-80), *Nōgyō Zensho* (1697), and so on (Kojima, 1975: 366-7.)

[66] Kojima, 1975: 366-8; 372; 570.

[67] Ibid: 372.

[68] Hanihara, 1993: 308; Sakiyama, 1993: 73.

[69] Murayama, 1993: 51.

[70] Ibid: 66-8.

[71] Ibid, 1993: 66-70.

(3) The Hayato and Kumaso

i) The Hayato and Kumaso people

There was also a group of people called Hayato who once occupied areas from southern Kyūshū to Ryūkyū.[72] They had a distinctive culture which was different from that of the mainland Japanese. Their culture seems to have originated from southern regions, including Southeast Asia and Polynesia. Some scholars identify them as Jōmon people or the same group as the Ainu who migrated directly from southern regions.[73] The name Hayato appears in the ancient records of *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* and *Ōsumi fudoki*.[74] According to these documents, they were considered to be people who opposed the central Yamato government in the Kinki area until the early historical period or even the medieval period. [75] There are few records or data left about them. However, they seem to have shared many Jōmon and Southeast Asian characteristics. The Hayato could perhaps be classified as an Indonesian group, which is a sub-group of Austronesian, which settled in the Satuma Ōsumi districts.[76] Thus they may have been descendants of Jōmon who remained in the southern part of Kyūshu.

According to Kanaseki, the physical characteristics of the Hayato were a short stature and short heads. *Hizen fudoki*, *Ruijū kokushi* (a historical document edited by Michizane Sugawara), *Kojiki*, and *Ryō no shūge* state that the Hayato differed both in language and appearance from the *wajin*, as did the Emishi, who were associated with the ancestors of the Ainu.

The Kumaso are also believed to have settled in southern Kyūshū. The place name Kumaso is mentioned in the earliest chronicles of Japan, *Kojiki* and

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[72]Ohbayashi, 1975: 251-61.

[73]Kakubayashi, 1996-b: 9-10; Kitami, 1979: 44.

[74]Akimoto, 1989: 526; Hanihara, K., 1993: 268; Kokubu, 1980: 289; Murayama, 1975: 251-2.

[75]Hanihara, K., 1993: 268.

[76]Ohbayashi, 1991: 355; Tsugita, 1996: 190.

Nihon shoki, and in the three *Fudoki* of Kyūshū: *Hizen*, *Higo* and *Bungo fudoki*.[77] There are a few hypotheses about the origin of the Kumaso. One hypothesis is that the Kumaso were related to the Hayato. Wakamori argues that the Kumaso and the Hayato co-existed, and that they were both subjugated under the *Wa* royal authority between the fifth and sixth centuries. The other theory is that the Kumaso was a different group from the Hayato. Nishimura suggests that the Kumaso belonged to the Indo-Chinese group while the Hayato belonged to the Indonesian group. Murofuku suggests that Kumaso could be separated into the Kuma people and the So people.[78] Hayato could possibly be identified as the So people according to a statement in *Tenpyō jyūgo nen hichigatsu ki* (AD 743).[79] The Kumaso are thought to have had the Jōmon type of physical characteristics.[80]

ii) Hayato culture

The origins of the Hayato culture can be traced back to Southeast Asia and Austronesia. They were a hunting and fishing people. Between the late Jōmon to the early Yayoi period stone tools were used in southern Kyūshū. Hayato appear to have used distinctive pottery. Since Hayato artifacts are similar to those of people in the Nansei Shotō islands, the Hayato were probably related to them.[81] The designs of the Hayato shield and sword appear to be related to those found in Indonesia, the Philippines and Borneo. Horse hair was attached to a Hayato shield which was excavated in Heijōkyū in the 1960s. It was painted with black and white, having a spiral design. The shield is identified as Hayato because it fits a description of a Hayato shield in *Engishiki* .[82] The shields in the Philippines were of similar shape and painted black and white in a spiral design colour and also had animal or human hair attached. In mountain

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[77]Akimoto, 1989: 518-9; 520; Kokubu, 1980: 275.

[78]Kokubu, 1980: 275-80.

[79]Ibid: 279. In the statement, Hayato were banqueted by the emperor at that time.

[80]Kokubu, 1980: 282; Nakanishi, 1996: 120; Ohbayashi, 1991: 343; 347-54; Ueda, 1996: 39.

[81]Kokubu, 1980: 282-5.

[82]*Enkishiki* is an old document consisted of fifty volumes which states institutions and rites in the imperial court during the earily Heian period. The institutions and rites were implemented from AD 967. (Shinmura, 1972: 251.)

areas in Borneo similar spiral designs are seen in the clothes of Borneans.[83]

The Hayato used bamboo crafts. Similar bamboo culture is seen in southern parts of China, Indonesia and the southern Pacific region. The Hayato also had a shell culture: shell crafts were found at the Hirota site in Tanegashima island. Similar shell crafts are seen in the southern part of China, Southeast Asia and among the Ami people in Taiwan, whose origins are Indonesian and who are related to the native Phillippinos.[84]

The Hayato myths

The Hyūga myth-cycle in *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki* is considered to be Hayato mythology, because it explains about the origins of the Hayato. The Hyūga myths, which are generally regarded as the myths of the three generations of Piko-po-nö-ninigi-nö-mikötö, Po-wori-nö-mikötö and Ama-tu-piko-nagisa-take-u-gaya-puki-apēzu-nö-mikötö, cover the transformation period from the age of deities to the age of humans.[85] The myths are set in the Hyūga area in southern Kyūshū after the deities descend from heaven. Hyūga is believed to have been a Hayato settlement.[86]

The Ata Hayato are considered to be the Hayato who occupied the Ata area, which is thought to be present-day Kaseda city in Kagoshima prefecture.[87] According to *Kojiki*, the elder brother Po-deri-nö-mikötö in the myth of Po-deri-nö-mikötö and myth is regarded as the ancestor of the Ata Hayato. Therefore, this is regarded as a Hayato myth. The Hyūga myths share many common elements with myths in Southeast Asia, particularly with those of Indonesia.[88] *Po* in the brothers' names could mean either 'fire' or 'rice plant'. The origins of the plot in which Po-wori-nö-mikötö meets Toyo-tama-bime is thought to have

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[83]Kakubayashi, 1996-b: 12; Ohbayashi, 1991: 355-6; Senda, 1991: 90-3.

[84]Kanaseki, 1996: 97-107; Ueda, 1996: 34; 45.

[85]Itō, Matusmae, Mori, Ohbayashi, Okada and Yoshii,1974: 12; 24-7; Kokubu, 1980: 289; Philippi, 1968: 139-59; Tsugita, 1996: 176-214.

[86]Itō, Matusmae, Mori, Ohbayashi, Okada and Yoshii,1974: 12; 24-7; Tsugita, 1996: 190-1; Yoshida, 1991: 221.

[87]Kokubu, 1980: 289; Tsugita, 1996: 189.

[88]Ohbayashi, 1973: 236-9.

originated from stories in New Britain in Melanesia and also from stories in Indonesia and China. Other motifs in the myth, such as the losing of a fish-hook, are probably related to stories in Indonesia, Southeast Asia and New Guinea. In the myth Po-wori-nö-mikötö's mother Kö-nö-pana-nö-Saku-ya-bime sets fire to a palace and gives birth in the burning palace.[89] It is therefore possible that Hayato people brought some elements of Japanese mythology with them from Southeast Asia.[90]

iii) The Hayato Language

Given the lack of records on the Hayato language, the only way to research this question is by a comparative study of words of Hayato origin which are likely to have been retained in southern Kyūshū and Ryūkyū. Certain words suggest that the Hayato language possibly belongs to the Austronesian language group (Indonesian and Oceanic languages).[91]

According to *Nihon shoki*, the Hayato spoke a different language from that spoken on the Japanese mainland.[92] A few Hayato place names are stated in *Ōsumi fudoki* (dating from ca. the eighth century)[93] as local names in the Ōsumi district: Kushira and Hishi. Since similar words occur in Indonesian, these words seem to be associated with the Indonesian language.

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[89]Gotō' 1997: 5; Kakubayashi, 1996-a: 37, Kokubu, 1980: 289; Ohbayashi, 1991: 356-7; Philippi, 1968: 146-7; Tsugita, 1996: 189-91; 200; 205; Ueda, 1996: 35. Giving birth in a fire is also found in Hike sutra (A ten fascicle of sutra which appears to be a compilation of various smaller sutra): Rafura gave birth to Shakya Muni's (Gautama or Buddha) child in a fire (Huntington, 1979: 105; Nakanishi, 1996: 127).

[90]However, there is not much information available about the Hayato people. Further investigation into their origins is needed.

[91]Kokubu, 1980: 277-8; Murayama, 1975: 262.

[92]Murayama, 1975: 251-61.

[93]*Fudoki* are the topographies which contain the descriptions of origins of the names, traditions , natural features and products of a region and were ordered to be compiled by the empress Genmei in 713. There are five extant *Fudoki* : *Izumo* (Shimane prefecture), *Hitachi* (Ibaragi prefecture), *Harima* (Hyōgo prefecture), *Bungo* (Ōita prefecture) and *Hizen* (Saga and Nagasaki prefectures). *Izumo Fudoki* is the only extant complete one and is considered to have been completed in 733. (Endō and Ikegaki, 1980: 6-7.)

(4) Polynesians

i) Origins of Polynesians

Recent studies of human remains suggest that the original settlers all around the Pacific came from Southeast Asia.

According to archaeological evidence and genetic studies, the physical features of Polynesians indicate Asian origins. Bone structures and skin types show that Polynesians have Mongoloid characteristics. The latest genetic study also suggests that Polynesians have Asian origins, showing clear genetic Mongoloid features as follows: flat faces, black hair, light skin colour, and the epicanthic eye-fold.[94] A study of genes also shows that Polynesians and Melanesians are grouped into one cluster which branched off from near the Southeast Asian group.[95] Thus, people appear to have migrated from Asia to Polynesia via Southeast Asia. [96]

ii) Polynesian Culture

The cooking method of using an earth oven is common in Oceania. Maori, for instance, dig a deep circular hole in the ground and cook food by means of heated stones. This is called a hāngi.[97] A similar method is seen in Miyakojima island in Okinawa, at a site which is considered to be around 1,800 to 2,500 years old. Japanese and Oceanian methods are likely to have originated in a common place.[98]

The origin of Polynesians can also be seen from their diet in Samoa and Tonga. The Lapita people brought some plant and animal foods from Southeast Asia. They brought three animals: the pig, the dog and the chicken. These are

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[94]Raymond and Thorne, 1989: 256-7.

[95]Omoto, 1995: 96.

[96]Davidson, 1987: 18; Davidson,1992: 4-5.

[97]Williams, 1988: 34.

[98]Kakubayashi, 1996-b: 12.

the same livestock which were kept in southern Kyūshū and Okinawa, suggesting that these creatures were originally domesticated in Southeast Asia before migrations to Japan and Polynesia took place.[99]

The main diet in Austronesia consists of breadfruit, coconuts, taro and yams, sweet potato, sugar cane and fruit.[100] All these foods except for sweet potatoes are believed to have been brought by migrants from the west.
Distribution of food plants is an indicator of people's migration. Several traditional Polynesian crops also originate from Southeast Asia. For example, breadfruit, yams and sugar cane and coconut originate in Southeast Asia.[101] The origins of taro could be either Indonesia or the highlands of southern China. The sweet potato is one of the staple crops in Oceania. There are two hypotheses on the origins of sweet potatoes: one is south America while the other is Africa. There are possibly two routes by which food plants were brought from Southeast Asia to Oceania. One is from Indonesia to Polynesia via Melanesia, whereas the other is from Indonesia via Polynesia to Melanesia.[102]

The original settlers in Easter Island cremated their dead. The custom of cremation was also practiced in Southeast Asia.[103]

Polynesians are famous for canoe building and voyaging skills. The twin-hulled voyaging canoes which enabled Polynesians to travel long distances are found in the Samoa, Tonga and Fiji region. The design of the Polynesian double-hulled voyaging canoes also seems to have originated from the outrigger canoe of Southeast Asia.[104]

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[99]Aoyagi, 1997: 35.

[100]Davidson, 1987: 18; Davidson, 1992: 4; Raymond and Thorne, 1989: 257.

[101]Raymond and Thorne, 1989: 259.

[102]Ushijima, 1979: 36-9.

[103]Press, 1998: 9; Raymond and Thorne, 1989: 262-6.

[104]Raymond and Thorne, 1989: 257; 259.

iii) Polynesian Language

Polynesian languages are related to languages spoken in Southeast Asia. Polynesian languages belong to a subgroup of Austronesian languages spoken from Polynesia, Micronesia, Melanesia south of the Solomon Islands and much of island Southeast Asia, with a few small enclaves on the Southeast Asian mainland. Polynesian languages are classified differently from languages spoken by the Australian aborigines and from the languages of Papua New Guinea and parts of the Solomons.[105] However, further studies into the details of Polynesian languages are needed.

3. Conclusion

From the above it is clear that the Jōmon people shared common physical and cultural characteristics with the present people of Southeast Asia. The Ainu and the Okinawans may be descendants of the Jōmon people because they appear to have retained cultural and physical characteristics of the Jōmon. The origins of the Jōmon seem to be Southeast Asia, and their ancestors might be a group who evolved in Sundaland in the late Pleistocene period.[106]

Studies have also shown that people in the Pacific islands, including Polynesians and Micronesians, share common genetic characteristics with Southeast Asians. Some scholars, including Brace et al. (1989) and Katayama (1990) even support the view that the ancestors of Polynesians and Micronesians are the Jōmon. Others, including Turner, Pietrusewsky (1988) and Bellwood (1978 and 1989), argue that the provenance of the people in the Pacific islands is Southeast Asia. Tsunehiko Hanihara and others argue that both the Jōmon and the people in the Pacific islands have common ancestors in Southeast Asia, because the basic genetic characteristics of Southeast Asians are situated between the Jōmon and the people in the Nansei Shotō islands on the one

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[105]Davidson, 1987: 14.

[106]Hanihara, T., 1993: 307.

hand and people in the Pacific islands on the other.[107]

It should be noted that there are also some arguments that refute the southern origins of the Japanese. There is one hypothesis which argues the Northeast Asian origin of the Japanese. For instance, Nei argues that human habitation in Japan goes back to 30,000 years ago when the Japanese islands were still connected with the Asian continent, and that the earliest group of migrants were from Northeast Asia and developed the Japanese population between 30,000 and 12,000 years ago. His argument is based on a phylogenetic analysis. He argues that the Japanese, the Ainu and the Okinawans were originally derived from Northeast Asians, and that the Ainu and the rest of the Japanese diverged in the early Jōmon period, while the Okinawans are likely to be a recent Japanese branch. His theory goes further back and involves the wider scale of migrations in the world.[108] However, it does not refute that the origins of Japanese could include Southeast Asia during a more recent stage of migrations, or that the southern part of Japan has Southeast Asian influences and is therefore associated with Oceania, since Oceania also seems to have been influenced by Southeast Asia during the last 3,500 years.[109]

The above evidence clearly presents an overwhelming case that languages and cultures of Southeast Asia dispersed both northwards to Japan and southwards to Polynesia. It is therefore not merely plausible but also likely that mythologies were dispersed at the same time. Our present task is to trace and determine which myths or elements of myths were dispersed in this way. This thesis presents arguments for pinpointing two such myths in the following chapters.

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[107]Ikeda, 1991: 326-7; Hanihara, T., 1993: 306-7.

[108]Nei, 1995: 77-82.

[109]Nei, 1995: 79.

Chapter III. A Maori Cosmogony Myth: the story of Tāne

1. Introduction to the story

(1) Choice of myth.

There are three reasons for selecting the story of Tāne. First, the story of Tāne is a cosmogony myth, which belongs to Eliade's category of *true stories*.[1] It also shares a number of common elements with the Japanese cosmogony myth. A number of scholars have argued the similarity between the two myths.[2] Cosmogony myths are by their very nature fundamental, both in the study of mythology and to the cultures to which they belong. The story of Tāne is also well known in Polynesia, and so it is appropriate to compare it with the Japanese cosmogony myth in order to make a link between Japan and Polynesia.

For the above purpose, it is important to clarify the definition of cosmogony myths. According to Roland B. Dixon, cosmogony myths, or myths about the beginning of the world, can be divided into two categories, the genealogical or evolutionary type and the creative type.[3] In the genealogical or evolutionary type, the cosmos and the gods develop from a primal chaos, evolving step by step. In the beginning there is nothing but darkness. Then the light is gradually formed within the darkness and full day is established. Next, heat and moisture come, then substance and form are developed through the interaction of the existing elements. In the final stage of the evolution, the earth and the sky appear, then they are personified as the Earth Mother and the Sky Father. All natural phenomena and the numerous gods are thus the descendants of the Sky Father and the Earth Mother or some other female principal. I refer to this type of myth, in which the world or the cosmos starts with nothingness, as a '*cosmogony myth*' in this dissertation. On the other hand, in the creative type of myth, all substance or being is created by a deity or deities.

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[1]See Chapter I: 5. Eliade, 1963: 8-11.

[2]Chadwick, 1930: 429-32; Gotō, 1997: 64-6; 164-7; Matsumae, 1970: 50-2; Matsumoto, 1994: 158-179; 193-4; Ohbayashi, 1972: 176; 189; Ohbayashi, 1973: 27-30; 115-6; 139; Ohbayashi, 1986: 224-5; 243-6; Takagi, 1994: 82-88, Yoshida, 1974: 17-8.

[3]Dixon, 1916: 2-5; Gotō, 1997: 65; Inoue, 1971: 58; Matsumae, 1970: 36-7; Matsumoto; 1994: 158; Ohbayashi, 1973: 27-8.

Polynesian mythology has examples of both types. Maori myth belongs to the genealogical or evolutionary type.[4] Most Maori lore starts with nothingness and ends up with the appearance of the Sky Father Rangi and the Earth Mother Papa-tua-nuku. Rangi takes Papa-tua-nuku as his wife. They join together and their offspring are brought into the world. Then finally their children separate Rangi from Papa-tua-nuku.[5] According to Dixon's classification, the Japanese myth of the beginning of the world also belongs to the genealogical or evolutionary type.

The second reason for selecting this particular version of the story of Tāne is that this version of the story belongs to the Ngāi Tahu tribe of the South Island of New Zealand. Generally there are not many Japanese translations of Maori mythology available. Apart from some fragmentary translations and summaries, there are at present only two significant Japanese translations of Maori mythology.[6] Most of the translated lore is from the tribes in the North Island and it does not cover much material from the South Island. Both works are, by and large, influenced by European points of view.

Even in Aotearoa / New Zealand most versions of the story of Tāne which are well known are from the North Island. Some of the versions from the South Island were only quite recently translated even into English. So it is not surprising that there are no Japanese translations of South Island traditions.

The third reason is for choosing this version is that it is one of the oldest versions. It was recorded in the last century when Maori had not yet been greatly influenced by European ideas. The collector, the Rev. Wohlers, recorded

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[4]Dixon, 1916: 5-9; Matsumae, 1970: 36-40; Matsumoto, 1994: 159-60; Numazawa, 1952: 7-9.

[5]Eliade, 1963: 22-3.

[6]One being *Maori Shinwa to Densetsu* (1996) translated by Shogo Yuihama. *Maori Shinwa* is not a direct translation from original Maori tradition. Yuihama translated a collection of English translations of Maori mythology, mainly from *Polynesian Mythology and Ancient Traditional History of The Maori as Told by Their Priests and Chiefs* by Sir George Grey. The other is *Maori Shinwa* (1982) edited by Anthony Alpers and translated by Eimei Inoue. This is a reworking of the same material, Grey's book, which is derived almost exculsively from North Island sources and is an amalgam of material from various tribes. Therefore, both works are largely from the same sources. Since, as will be seen below, Grey's versions were in some cases adapted to suit Christian values and tastes, these Japanese translations too are not always faithful to the original mythology.

the version in Maori as it was dictated to him. The North Island version collected by Grey was recorded around the same time. However, some of the people who wrote down traditions were Christian, and some elements of this version appear to have been altered to reflect Christian ideas. Some other versions which were recorded later, have the same problem. Some characters in stories are depicted as being similar to figures in the Christian Bible. For example, floods in traditional Maori stories may be compared with Noah's flood; Tāwhaki's ascent to the sky in search of his wife may be compared to Christ's ascension into heaven, and so on. Thus, the later versions seem to have lost the traditional Maori view to some extent, in comparison with the older versions.

For the above reasons, this version of the story of Tāne from the South Island is a useful one for comparative purposes.

(2) Background

i) The source of the Murihiku version

This version of the story of Tāne was collected and recorded in Maori by the Rev. J. F. H. Wohlers, a Lutheran missionary. While he was a missionary at Ruapuke Island in Foveaux Strait in Murihiku[7], he collected many stories from a few local elder Maori, who were not yet influenced by Christianity or European ideas, and who were still familiar with their ancient myths. Originally Wohlers had no intention of publishing the stories which he collected. He wrote them down some time before 1850 to help him learn the Maori language. Later, however, he did publish some of them.[8] In 1852 he sent Sir George Grey, the former Governor of Aotearoa / New Zealand, a rewritten version of the story of Tāne, with episodes arranged in chronological order.[9]

In 1874 and 1875, Wohlers published some of the Murihiku myths both in

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[7]Murihiku meaning, 'tail end' is the southern region of New Zealand (Mckinnon: 15-6.).

[8]Wohlers, 1874: 3.

[9]The material in the original manuscript consists of nine booklets. Book two and from Books three to nine are now held in the Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington, while Book one is in the Auckland Public Library and Book three is missing.

Maori and in English in *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute* volume 7 and 8. In the English version he did not translate word for word. However he included all the episodes of his original manuscript written in about 1850 and summarized it, adding commentaries and short passages. Some commentaries are from his knowledge which he gained in his stay. He also omitted the parts regarding sexual terms or bodily functions which were not acceptable in the contemporary society.[10] Some names in the version were quoted from Grey's *Nga Mahinga a nga Tupuna.*

ii) The tribe[11]

At the time when these stories were collected, the main tribe of the South Island was Ngāi Tahu. They had intermarried with people of earlier tribes, chiefly Ngāti Māmoe and Waitaha. This version of the story probably belongs to all these tribes. The tribes of the south had a slightly different dialect from those in the North. The main difference was that they used a k sound where the northerners used a ng. So they spoke about Takaroa and Raki. However, Wohlers wrote down the stories mostly in North Island dialect, except for words he did not know. I have followed the spelling used by Wohlers (Takaroa, Rangi) and have underlined the k when this corresponds to the North Island ng.[12]

iii) Other versions

There are several other versions of the Tāne myth from the South Island. One was recorded by the well-known *tohunga* [13] Matiaha Tiramōrehu in Moeraki (Northern Otago)[14] and another, also from Moeraki, by Teone Rena Rāwiri Te Mamaru[15]. A song which tells the story of Tāne's search for his wife is labelled

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[10] Wohlers, 1874: 3-53.

[11] See map on page 168 below.

[12] Beattie, 1954: 86-91; Wohlers, 1874: 31.

[13] Tohunga means a skilled person or a priest (Williams, 1988: 431).

[14] Tiramōrehu, 1987: 1-13; 23-35.

[15] Te Mamaru, 1894: 9-15.

"Ngā Rauru" (a North Island tribe) by White, but it too is a Ngāi Tahu version.[16] Shortland also collected a version from the South Island, though he did not specify the location.[17] Finally, a version was recorded early this century by Teone Taare Tikao from Banks Peninsula.[18]

Versions from the North Island[19] include one collected by Sir George Grey[20], one by Taylor,[21] one by Best[22] and one by the East Coast *tohunga* Mohi Ruatapu[23].There is also a song by Ngāti Kahungunu of the East Coast.[24]

Besides the above versions, there are numerous Tāne myths in Polynesia, some of which are similar to those told in New Zealand, and it is impossible to list all of them.

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[16]White, 1887, I: 130-1.

[17]Shortland, 1882: 10-24.

[18] Beattie, 1990: 22-36.

[19]Most of the versions in White, 1887, I: 17-54 and 130-64 are in fact South Island versions from Ngāi Tahu, even when attributed to Ngāti Hau and Ngati Kāhungunu.

[20]Grey, 1969: 1-11.

[21]Taylor, 1870: 109-24.

[22]Best, 1925: 742-89.

[23]Reedy, 1993: 17-8; 117-8.

[24]Best, 1923: 116-7. A shortened form also appears in Best, 1986-b: 61.

2. Translations

(1) English Translation

The story of Tāne, based on the Murihiku version recorded by the Rev. Wohlers.

I have divided the story up into paragraphs and numbered them, to make it easier for the reader to follow the Japanese and English versions.

Wohlers recorded the story over a long period of time, perhaps from different informants. There are therefore several short episodes and songs which appear as separate passages. I have kept my translation in the same order as Wohlers's. The story also does not follow a chronological order, as this is a feature of oral narration in many different cultures. For instance, paragraph 21 suddenly jumps back to the time when Tāne was born.

The following chronological order makes the story more understandable:

Episode 1:The fighting between Rangi and Takaroa over Papa-tua-nuku (Paragraphs 20 and 28)

Rangi takes Takaroa's wife Papa-tua-nuku and is then wounded in the fight with Takaroa. The two paragraphs are two versions of this episode.

Episode 2: Rangi and Papa-tua-nuku's children; separation of the parents (paragraphs 21-24, 33)

Rangi and Papa-tua-nuku have a family of crippled children first, then normal children. The children decided to lift Rangi up high, away from Papa-tua-nuku. In paragraph 33, Rangi sings about Paia, who is lifting him up, and also sings a longer version of his grieving

song.

Episode 3: Tāne adorns his parents, and the children go out into the world (paragraphs 25-27)

Tāne puts stars on Rangi and trees on Papa-tua-nuku. Rangi sends his children out into the world.

Episode 4: Tāne's search for a woman (paragraphs 1-6)

Tāne tries unsuccessfully to find a mate for himself, and finally makes one out of earth.

Episode 5: Tāne goes to see Rehua (paragraphs 7-13)

He visits Rehua up in the sky and learns how to bring birds back to earth for human beings to eat.

Episode 6: Tāne visits the rat-eating people (paragraphs 14-16, 29)

Tāne is offered rats as food, but will not eat them. In paragraph 29 the people have the same names as these people, so this paragraph probably fits in here, either between paragraph 14 and paragraph 15 or after paragraph 16.

Episode 7: Tāne's wife learns the truth (paragraph 30)

During Tāne's absence, his wife learns that he is also her father, and rushes down to the underworld.

Episode 8: Tāne's search for Hine-ata-uira, and their separation (paragraphs 17-19, 31-32)

Tāne follows his wife to the underworld, but cannot bring her back. Instead he brings back the stars. The two songs could be placed before the last sentence in paragtaph 18.

The story of Tāne

1)

Rangi took Papa-tua-nuku as his wife. And then his children were born. One of them was Tāne. He grew up and felt his penis stirring.[1] Therefore, Water-in-springs gushed out.[2] As his penis stirred again, Water-in-lagoons[3] gushed out. Then that was completed. So he went inland. There was Great Mountain.[4] Afterwards, Oozing-water, Trickling-water, Welling-water and Embrace-the-shore were born. However, Tāne's desire had not yet been satisfied. He turned his desire to a tree and to a knot in a tree. Yet, his desire was still not satisfied.

2)

Now he returned to his mother. His heart desired that his mother make love with him.[5] But his mother said , 'No, don't do that, because you are my son.'

3)

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[1]The first time the word "penis" is used. Although in old Maori tradition sexual terms were used, missionaries deleted them from most versions when they recorded them, for reasons of decency, because sexual terms were taboo in contemporary European society.

[2]Tāne seems to be ejaculating. Water comes out of him because he is copulating with nature. He is creating water. He does not set out to create water, but it comes into being through his actions. In the Tiramōrehu version offspring are born after waters grow (Tiramōrehu, 1987: 7; 27). In Maori belief water already exists at the beginning long before human beings are born (Beattie, 1939: 23; 27; 30).

[3]They are estuary-type lagoons.

[4]Tāne first copulates with nature, first of all a mountain and then a tree.

[5]Tāne tries to commit incest with his mother.

Now, Tāne set out on a long journey to Mautarere and Punaweko. And there were the pubic hairs, the mons veneris, the labia majora, the labia minora and clitoris.[6] Tāne took these genitals back, in order to copulate with those parts. He desired the pubic hairs. However his desire was still not satisfied.

4)

Then Tāne returned to his mother and desired her. However, his mother told him that he should go back. She said to him, 'What were you trying to do?'

The son replied, 'I was trying to make love with the vulva.'
The mother said, 'Go and make a woman out of earth.'[7]

5)

Hine-hā-one was the name of the woman who was made of earth. He gave her the pubic hairs and set them out on the earth. He made love with her. Now finally the things had been done the way they should be. Then he returned to his mother and said, 'Now finally it went well.'
His mother said, 'There you are, you are indeed my son.'

6)

Hine-ata-uira was born (Hine-tītama is another name for this daughter). This daughter also slept with him. Then their children were born: Te Kukumia, Tau-whakairo, Te Hau-otioti and Kumia-te-pō.

7)

Then Tāne departed, seeking and looking for his elder brother Rehua. He got

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[6]Here again female genitals are named in the older versions (compare also Tiramōrehu, 1987: 9; 31). However these terms are not found in the later versions which have more European influence, probably because they were deleted from the original for reasons of decency by the Europeans who recorded them.

[7]Tāne's mother gives him this advice, in order for Tāne to complete making a female, as he has already got female genitals. In Maori stories it is common that important female figures give advice to heroes to help them.

to a certain village. Then he asked, 'Isn't there anyone up above here?'[8]

The people of the village answered, 'Yes, there are some people up above here.'

'Won't I be able to get there?'

8)
'You won't be able to get there. These are the skies whose boundaries have been set by Tāne.'
He went forth on his way through and stayed up in the next sky. Then he said to them, 'Is there really anyone up above there?'

'There really are some people here.'

'Won't I be able to get there?'

'You won't be able to get there. These are the skies which were secured by Tāne.'

He kept going in the same manner, until he finally reached the tenth sky.

9)
Then he arrived at Rehua's house, and his elder brother Rehua came to him, in order for them to weep together.[9] Now Rehua wept carelessly.[10] Yet Tāne

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[8]Maori believed there were ten or eleven skies or heavens.

[9]*Tangi* is a Maori ritual of weeping in remembrance of family members who have died or who have not been seen for a long time. It is often performed at funerals. In this case Tāne and Rehua have not seen each other for a long time, and so they weep together.

[10]An elder brother is superior and highly respected in traditional Maori society. Rehua lives in the sky, and so is very sacred to Tāne. An elder brother is usually the one who is supposed to know a *karakia* in traditional Maori society. However Rehua does not know a *karakia*, even though he lives in the heavens and has *tapu* (sacredness).

wept chanting a *karakia* (incantation).

Hoe it, sweep it, weed it, clear it,
Hoe the sky to bring plentiful crops.
Drag out from afar the floormat of the sky.[11]
What may your name be?
It is Rangi-pua-iho.
The prop of the sky,
To take hold of it firmly.
It was Tāne alone
Who propped up the sky itself.

10)

When the weeping ceremony finished Rehua said, 'Light a fire.'
When the fire was lit, calabashes[12] were brought and set in front of him. Then Tāne thought, 'Where is the food for these calabashes which have been brought here?'

11)

Tāne saw that Rehua untied a knot in his hair — as Rehua's hair was tied up.

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[11]The floormat probably looks like a kūmara garden. The expression 'kūmara garden' is often used to describe the shape of a mackerel sky. As kūmara is planted neatly in rows of hillocks, the rows are like the rows of clouds in a mackerel sky. A lot of labour is needed to plant them. In this *karakia* someone seems to be up in the sky and doing all the work, digging and hoeing perhaps for planting kūmara and providing crops.

Rehua seems to be dragging the floormat of the sky far from the back side of the high mountains over the horizon right up to the top of the sky for people to be able to see it from down below. In ancient Maori belief the sun lives in a pit which is below the mountains, comes up during the day and goes back to the pit after sunset.

[12]Calabashes were used as containers for preserved birds. All kinds of birds were preserved as special food in calabashes. The elaborate form of calabashes has a carved wooden stopper at the top and a woven cover and is lashed to wooden legs and a frame, in order to stand up on the ground. The entire calabash was decorated with feathers. Most calabashes were much simpler. Maori put fat in the neck of the calabash before putting a stopper in to keep air out.

He shook it down towards the calabashes — some kōkō (tūī) birds,[13] which were feeding off the lice on Rehua's head, came out. The calabashes were filled up with tūī, and then they were carried to the fire and boiled. When they were cooked they were taken to Tāne and put beside him. His elder brother told him to eat them. Tāne said, 'I am not going to eat them. I have just seen you shake them from your head. And who could eat food which has been feeding on the lice on your head!'[14]

12)

Therefore Tāne was afraid. He would not eat the food, and left it there. Tāne asked Rehua, 'Won't birds be able to come with me?'

Rehua said to him, 'They will go with you. If the trees bear fruit, the birds will fly to the trees and alight on them to feed.'

'What am I supposed to do?'

13)

'If the wind blows, it will dry the birds' throats and they will come to look for water. Then you must make nooses.'

14)

Tāne arrived at the home of Nukuroa and Tamatea-kai-whakapua. He found only the women there since the men had gone out to catch rats. There were two women. The women slept with Tāne.[15] One of the women slept with Tane,

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[13]Kōkō is a dialectal word for the tūi. Ngāti Porou and Ngāi Tahu use this dialectal form.

[14]Rehua is Tāne's elder, so he is superior to Tāne and the food on his head is very *tapu* (sacred) to Tāne. Because the tūī eat the lice on his head, the tūī are also *tapu* . According to *tapu* belief, inferiors should not eat anything which has been in contact with their superiors. This shows respect and deference to their superiors (Wohlers, 1874, TNZI 7: 9). According to Tiramōrehu, Tāne would become blind if he ate the tūi (Tiramōrehu, 1987: 11-12; Tremewan, 1992: 115). Therefore the reason Tāne is afraid to eat is not because lice are disgusting to eat. In traditional Maori society, unlike in European society, it was common to eat lice.

[15]In Maori stories plural forms are often used even when subjects are supposed to be

but the other refused. Then they produced food for him. The food was rats.[16] He would not eat the food. Then he asked them, 'Is this the food for your husbands?'
The women replied, 'Yes.'

'You should leave this food for your supreme lords.'

For their supreme lords, Te Tapu-ao and Hine-ki-taha-rangi.

15)
Then Tāne said to them that they should go to their husbands. And so the women left. They found the place where the husbands were staying.

Now, they told them, 'We have slept with a man. My friend refused, but I embraced him.'

Then the husbands asked, 'Why did you refuse him, instead of embracing him?'[17] And so they said again, 'Go back to your man. Tomorrow we will go there.'

16)
Then the husbands returned in the morning. They arrived at the village where Tāne was. They gave him food prepared on a spit. Tāne did not want the food

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singular. In this case only one of the women slept with Tāne. However, it is mentioned first that both women slept with Tane, and then it is explained later that only one of them slept with him.

[16]Rats were a delicacy for Maori. These rats were small and clean because they ate seeds and leaves. It was natural for Maori to think that rats were a very nutritious and precious source of meat. Therefore the reason why Tāne does not eat rats is not because they are disgusting to eat but because they are sacred beings kept for the women's husbands. The husbands might be senior to Tāne.

[17]Traditional Maori society was male dominated. Committing adultery was usually taboo for women in traditional Maori society, while men were allowed to commit adultery. It was usual for men to have more than one wife, especially for high ranking men. They often had a head wife, second wife, lower ranking wives and servant wives. Women were always the ones who were blamed when they committed adultery. However, it is accepted in this story, perhaps because Tāne is known as a great god.

prepared on a spit. This was because it was rats which had been eating their excrement, ferreting about in their excrement.[18] Tāne would not eat them, since he was in awe of his elder relations. Therefore he would not eat the rats, leaving them there. Then Tāne said, 'So, this is your food. For your supreme masters.'

17)

Now Tāne came back and arrived at his mother's home. He asked her, 'Where is my wife?'

The mother replied, 'That woman is not for you. She has gone, she has gone down below.[19] She left a message that you should stay here:

> You stay up here to raise our offspring. Let me go down to the world of the Night to drag our offspring Tahu-kumea, Tahu-whakairo, Tahu-oti-atu,Tahu-kume-te-po and Tahu-kumie-te-ao to Te Rēinga.'[20]

18)

Now Tāne set off to follow his wife. Then he reached a house and questioned the supporting post of the house. However, its mouth did not reply. So, he questioned the gable-board of the house, but its mouth did not answer. He was overcome with shame.[21] He rushed around into the side wall of the house.

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[18]Here again it is not because these rats eat human excrement that Tāne does not want to eat. These people might be elder relations (and therefore sacred) to Tāne which means he cannot eat the rats.

[19]Down below implies the underworld. This is quite obvious from her following message, *"Let me go down to the world of the Night."*

[20]When these names were first mentioned, Wohlers spelled them differently, spelling 'Te-' instead of 'Tahu-' (-oti-atu). He might have got them wrong when recording them. The word 'Tahu' implies 'death' or destruction. It seems these offspring go to Te Rēinga (the underworld).

[21]Tāne probably felt so ashamed of his committing incest or he is humiliated that they refuse to acknowledge him.

The name of the house was Poutui-te-rangi. Then the person inside the house asked him, 'Where are you off to, Tāne?'

Tāne answered, 'I am following our sister.'[22]

People inside the house said to him,
Oh, Tāne, go back to the world of the Daylight to raise our offspring. Let me stay in the world of the Night to drag our offspring down here.'[23]

Thus the world of the Daylight was begun and the world of the Night was begun.

19)
Tāne kept going in order to follow his wife. He reached the home of Tū-kai-nanapia. He took some of the cloaks belonging to Wehi-nunui-a-momoa away with him. He took away with him Hirautu, Poreri-nuku, The Host of Stars: Puanga, Takurua, Whakare-pukarehu, Kuaki-motumotu, Tahu-weruweru, Wero, Wero-te-ninihi, Wero-te-kokoto, and Wero-i-te-ao-maori.
When summer came, this Host of stars would be placed there.[24]

20)
When Tāne came back and got to his home, he found Rangi lying there injured. He had been hurt by Takaroa[25] over Papa-tua-nuku. When Takaroa returned, he discovered that Rangi had slept with Papa-tua-nuku. And then they came to fight together. Each of them had a spear. They made a move. Rangi threw

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[22]The reason why he called Hine-ata-uira 'sister' could be Tāne's expression of close relationship towards her.

[23]'Me' seems to indicate Hine-ata-uira. She must be among the people in the house.

[24]'There' in this context means 'the sky, Rangi'.

[25]Takaroa is an uncle of Rangi and the first husband of Papa-tua-nuku in the South Island (Wohlers, 1874: 5). In the north Takaroa is the son of Rangi and Papa-tua-nuku, and the god or personification of the sea and fish (Wohlers, 1874: 5).

a spear towards Takaroa. Takaroa dodged aside and his spear pierced his nephew's buttocks, both of them at once, and so Rangi was laid flat.

21)

Rangi took Papa-tua-nuku as his wife. And then, Tāne-kupapa-eo, Tāne-mimi-whare, Tāne-nakatou, Tāne-waroro, Tāne-hūpeke, Tāne-tūturi, Tāne-te-waiora, Tāne-te-mata-tu, Tāne-tutaka were born. They were lying completely flat. Afterwards, Tāne-nui-a-Rangi and Paia were born. These were the ones who stood upright.

22)

Grieving from Rangi:

> Rangi and Te Maku are lying low here.
> Tamairetoro, tamairetoro let us be parted.
> Tamairetoro, tamairetoro let us be parted.
> Ari and Hua are lying low here.
> Tamairetoro, tamairetoro let us be parted.
> Tamairetoro, tamairetoro let us be parted.
> Oh, two of us are lying here, being joined.
> Tamairetoro, tamairetoro let us be parted.

23)

Paia wanted Rangi to be raised up. Tāne said to him, 'You won't be able to do that. We don't have enough people.'

Paia told Tāne again that they should raise Rangi up, and he said, 'Raise him up above.'

Paia was unable to do it, and so Rangi was still lying there.
Tāne called out, 'Who is up there?'
Then they replied from up in the sky, 'Lift him up and keep holding him!'

He called down below, 'Who is down there?'

'Lift him up and keep holding him.'

24)

Tāne cried,

> Stand and stretch forth! Lift the mountain[26] up!
> Stand and stretch forth! Lift the mountain up!
> And let it be parted by Tāne!

25)

Then the people who lifted him up returned down below again, and Tāne looked up at his father. However he was not embellished. So Tāne went to Ao-kehu, and the *kura*[27] were standing there at Awarua. Now the *kura* were there. Tāne took them back. He stood there, raised them up and placed them in order. Then Tāne came back down below. When he got back down, he looked up — everything was completely dark. He went off, got to the same place and took them back. He came back to Ao-kehu and fetched the stars, lifted them up above and placed them in order. He spread out the Fish-of-the-sky, the Milky Way. He arranged Panako-te-ao and the Magellan Clouds there. He arranged Canopus, the star of the year. He stayed there and looked up at his father, who finally looked well decorated.

26)

Now he thought that he had not yet decorated the parent nearer to him, Papa-

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[26]The word 'mountain' is used here to describe the size and weight of Rangi. It can be seen that Rangi is as heavy as a mountain.

[27]*Kura* generally means red, some kind of treasure, or a valued possession. However, in this story it seems to be a red cloud (glowing sky at sunset), as it cannot be seen at night. In Maori belief anything red is a treasure, for instance red feather cloaks, red kumara (Tremewan, 1992: 123-4; Williams, 1988: 154).

tua-nuku. And so Tāne chose his offspring to decorate his parent beautifully. These were the trees. He turned their heads upwards, and their legs downwards. He jumped aside and looked, he looked at his mother, but she was not yet decorated beautifully. He went to turn the trees upside-down. He turned the heads downwards and the legs upwards.[28] He jumped aside and looked at them. And now his mother was finally decorated beautifully.

27)

Rangi sent Te Aki and Whatiua out there to find out what was going on. The fruits of the earth, the inaho and the maru were found. They went to eat them. He sent Uru and Kakana up there. They found the fruits of the flowering trees, and devoured them. And so they did not return. They stayed there permanently.

28)

Takaroa

Takaroa took Papa-tua-nuku as his wife. Takaroa went off to the Kāhui-pūakiaki, to the treasures of Whakitau.[29] And he came back, but when he returned home the woman (Papa-tua-nuku) was living with Rangi. Takaroa lunged with his spear, and Rangi feinted with his spear. They approached each other. Rangi pierced Takaroa. Takaroa dodged aside. Rangi's weapon turned aside. Takaroa's spear passed through the nephew's buttocks, both buttocks, and he was completely laid flat. The woman was left to Rangi. Rangi made her lie down.[30]

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[28]In traditional Maori belief the roots of trees are regarded as heads, and the trunks are regarded as legs.

[29]The significance of names Kāhui-pūakiaki and Whakitau is unknown, but they could be place names. In the Tiramōrehu version the reason Takaroa goes is in order to carry away his child's placenta (Tiramōrehu, 1987: 3; 25).

[30]Papa-tua-nuku (the earth) lies down because Rangi (the sky) is clinging to her, as he is wounded.

29)

Tāne

Tāne said to the wives (of Nukuroa and Tamatea), 'Cut some flax for me.' Tāne wove this flax into nooses. The nooses were completed. The wind blew and the birds came for the water. Tāne arranged the nooses over the water. When the birds approached, he pulled the nooses on to the land.[31] And then, when evening came, the birds were piled up there. Tāne returned home to the women. He said to the women, 'Go and get the birds.'

The women arrived at the place where the birds were. There was one pile for one of them and one for the other. When they completed plucking the feathers, they made food for everybody.

30)

Hine-ata-uira

Hine-ata-uira asked Papa-tua-nuku, 'Where is my husband?'

She answered, 'Oh! your husband indeed? He is actually your father!'

Hine-ata-uira was overcome with shame and went to the world of Night and hid herself down below.

31)

Tāne's song to Hine-ata-uira

Are you really my child,
Parted at Aro-i-tau? (the long years)
Te Kura-mahukihuki (name of a house)
Is now my pathway to the sky.
You left me behind at Te Rangi-pōhutukawa.

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[31]Tāne is the inventer of the noose, which is a traditional device for catching birds.

I will be gone and lament,
At the door of the house, Pūtere-rangi.

32)

Hine-ata-uira's song

Tāne, are you really my parent?
The gathering at Hawaiki.[32]
Te Kura-māhukihuki,
Is now my pathway to the sky.
You left me behind at Te Rangi-pōhutukawa.
I will be gone and lament,
At the door of the house, Pūtere-te-rangi.

33)

Paia's lifting Rangi up above

From Rangi

Straightening up Paia's great back.
Te Kawa-i-huarau feels pain.

The separation of Rangi:

Separate Rangi and Papa so that they will be parted.
Tamairetoro, tamairetoro, let us be parted,
Tamairetoro, tamairetoro.
Separate Te Maku and Tama-i-waho so that they will be parted,
Tamaire.
Separate Ari and Hua so that they will be parted,

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[32]The souls of the dead gather because she is going to the underworld to look after the spirits of the dead. Hawaiki is another name that can be used for the land of the dead (Orbell, 1995: 52).

Tamairetoro.

Separate Rehua and Tama-rautu so that they will be parted,

Tamairetoro.

Separate Uru and Kakana so that they will be parted,

Tamairetoro.

Separate Te Aki and Whatiua so that they will be parted,

Tamairetoro.

Separate Tū and Roko so that they will be parted,

Tamairetoro.

(2) Japanese Translation

1)
ランギは、パパツアヌクを妻にめとった。やがて、子供達が産まれた。子供達の一人はターネといった。ターネは成長し、ペニス（陰茎）が勃起するのを感じた。そして、泉の水が湧き出てきた。彼のペニスは再び勃起して、礁湖に溜まった水が湧き出てきた。こうして、ことはは完了し、ターネは陸へと向って行った。そこには、アウンガヌイ（偉大な山）があった。後にピピー（にじみ出る水）、トトー（滴り落ちる水）、マープア（湧き出る水）、アフィウタ（海岸を抱擁する）が産まれた。しかし、ターネの性欲は満たされなかった。彼は木々や木の節に欲望を求めたが、それでも彼の欲望は満たされなかった。

2）
そこで、ターネは再び母の元へと戻っていった。彼の心は母との性交を望んでいたのだ。しかし、母親はターネに言った。「だめだよ。おまえは私の実の息子なんだから。」

3）
そこで、ターネは遥か彼方マウタレレ、プナウェコに向けて長旅に出かけて行った。そして、そこには、陰毛、陰門、大陰唇、小陰唇、陰核（クリトリス）があった。ターネはこれらの女性器を、性交するためにもちかえった。ターネは、陰毛に欲望を求めたが、それでも、彼の欲望は満たされなかった。

4）
そして、ターネは母の元へと戻り、母を求めた。しかし、母親はターネに帰るようにと告げた。母親は言った。「おまえは一体何をしょうとしていたんだい。」
息子は答えた。「陰門と性交しょうとしていたんだよ。」母親は息子に言った。「お行き。そして、土で女を作ってごらん。」

5）
土で作られた女の名はヒネーハーオネであった。ターネは彼女に陰毛を与え、土の上に女性器を並べ、彼女と性交した。遂になすべきことはなされたのだ。そして、ターネは母の元へ戻り、告げた。「ついにことはうまく運んだよ。」
母親は言った。「ほらごらん、おまえはやっぱり私の息子だよ。」

6）
やがて、ヒネアタウイラ（別名ヒネティータマ）が産まれた。このターネの娘もターネと性交した。そして、かれらの子供たち、テ＝ククミア、トーファカイロ、テ＝ホー＝オティオティ、クミア＝テ＝ポーらが産まれた。

7）
それから、ターネは兄のレフアを捜しに出かけた。ターネはある村に着いた。そしてそこで、村人に尋ねた。
「このうえには誰も住んでいないのかい。」

村人は答えた。「ええ、この上に人は住んでおりますともさ。」
「私はこの上へ辿り着けないだろうか。」

8）
「この上に行くのは無理ですよ。ターネが境界線を定めた空なのですから。」
ターネは空を突き破ってさらに上の空へと進んで行った。そして、ターネは叫んだ。
「この上には本当に人が住んでいるのかい。」
「ああ本当に住んでいるともさ」
「この上へ登って行くことはできるのかい。」
「それは無理だよ。ターネに固められた空なのですから」
このようにしてターネは、ようやく空の十階にたどり着くまで登り続けて行った。

9）
やがて、ターネはレフアの家に辿り着いた。ターネの兄は、共に嘆き合うために出てきた。レフアはただむやみやたらに泣き続けたが、ターネは嘆きのお祈りを唱えた。

鍬で耕し、掃除し、草引きしろ、大地を開拓したまえ
空を鍬で耕して、大地に豊作をもたらしたまえ。
遥か彼方から外に空のござを敷き出したまえ。
君の名前は何になろうか。ランギプアイ
空の支え、空をしっかりと固定させておくための。
空を一人で支えたのはターネだったのだ。

１０）
嘆きの儀式が終わった時、レフアは言った。「火を灯せ。」
火が灯されると、瓢箪がターネの前に配膳された。ターネは、「ここに持たらされた瓢箪に入れる食べ物はどこにあるのだろうか。」と不思議に思った。

１１）
ターネはレフアが髪を解いているのを見た。レフアの髪は束ねられていたので。レフアは瓢箪の方に頭を揺た。すると、レフアの頭の虱を餌にしていたトウイ鳥[1]が中から出てきたのだが、この鳥は。瓢箪はトウイで満たされ、火にかけられ、煮て料理された。料理はターネの前に配膳された。ターネの兄はターネに料理を食べるように勧めた。しかし、ターネは兄に答えた。
「こんな料理は食べれないよ。だって、兄さんが頭を揺すって虱を出したのをみたんだ。だれが兄さんの頭の中の虱を餌にしていた食べ物なんか食べれるものか。」

１２）
こうして、ターネは畏れて料理に手を付けず、そのままそこに残しておいた。
ターネはレフアに聞いた。「鳥達は僕に付いて来れないだろうか。」

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[1]ニュージーランドの国鳥。マオリにとっては貴重な食料だった。

兄レフアは答えた。「ああ、おまえに付いて行くともさ。木々に実がなったら、それを食べるために鳥達がやって来て木に止まるだろう。」
「僕はどうしたらいいんだい。」

１３）
「風が吹けば、鳥達の喉は渇き、鳥達は水を求めてやって来るだろう。そうしたら、おまえは罠を仕掛けるんだ。」

１４）
ターネは、ヌクロアとタマテアーカイーファカプアの家に着いた。そこには女達しかいなかった。男達はネズミを捕まえに出かけていたのだ。そこには、二人の女がいた。女達はターネと共寝した。一人の女はターネと床を共にしたが、もう一人の女はそれを拒んだ。それから、女達はターネに料理を用意した。その料理は鼠だった。ターネは料理を食べたがらずに[2]、女達に聞いた。

「これはおまえさんたちの夫達のための食べ物なのかい。」

女達は答えた。「ええ、そうですよ。」

「この料理はおまえさん達の頭領達のために残しておくべきだよ。」

彼女等の頭領達、テータプーアオとヒネーキータハーランギのために。

１５）
そして、ターネは女達に夫のところへ行くように告げた。すなわち、女達は夫の元へと出かけて行った。彼女達は夫の居場所を見つけて、彼等に告げた。

「私達はターネと寝たのさ。私の仲間は拒んだけど、私は彼を抱いたのさ。」

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[2]マオリの古代信仰によると、自分たちより一年長者のものを食べることは神聖さを犯すという「タプ　」（忌）の考えから禁止されている。おそらくタネに出された料理は年長者のものなので、ターネは神聖すぎて食べたがらなかったのであろう。

夫達は女達に聞いた。「どうしておまえは、ターネを抱かずに拒んだのだい。」そして夫達は再び口を開いた。「おまえ達のお客さんのところに戻りなさい。我々も明日彼のところへ行くから。」

１６）

やがて、翌朝夫達は戻って来た。彼らはターネのいる村にやって来た。彼らはターネを特別の串刺し料理でもてなした。しかし、この特別料理は村人の便の周りをちょろちょろ走りまわり、便を餌として食べていたネズミだったので、ターネはこの特別料理を食べる気がしなかった。ターネは彼の年長者との関係を畏れたのでその料理を食べなかった。料理はそのままそこにのこされた。そして、ターネは村人に言った。

「これはおまえさん達の食べ物なんだ。おまえさん達の誇り高き主達のためのものだ。」

１７）

ターネは、母の家へ戻って来て、母親に聞いた。「私の妻はどこにいるんだい。」母親は答えた。「あの女はおまえにはよくないよ。彼女はいってしまったよ。彼女は根の国にいってしまったんだよ。それから彼女はおまえに上に残るようにとう言づてを残していったよ。

> 『あなたはこの上に残って私達の子供を育ててくださいな。
> 私達の子孫のタフ＝クメア、タフ＝ファカイロ、タフ＝オティ＝アツ、タフ＝クメ＝テ＝ポ、タフ＝クミエ＝テ＝アオを、テ＝レインガへ引きずり降ろすために、私を闇の世界へ下らさせてください。』」

１８）

しかし、ターネは妻を追って行った。やがて、ターネはある家にたどり着いた。そして、その家の大黒柱に尋ねてみた。だか、大黒柱は口をきかなかった。そこで、家の切妻に尋ねてみたが、切妻も口を割らなかった。ターネは恥ずかしさで一杯になり、急いで家の外壁までかけ走って行った。その家の

名前はポーツイ＝テ＝ランギだった。そして、その家の中にいる人がターネに尋ねた。「ターネ、あなたはどこへ行くのですか。」
ターネは答えた。「我々の妹の後を追っているんだよ。」
家の中の人々はターネに言った。「ターネよ。我々の子孫を育てるために光の世界へお戻りなさいよ。我々の子孫をこの根の国へ引きずり降ろすために、わたくしを闇の世界に留まらさせてくださいな。」

こうして、明るい光の世界（地上界）と暗黒の闇夜の世界（根の国）が創造された。

１９）
ターネは再び妻の後を追って行った。彼はツー＝カイ＝ナナピアの家に辿り着いた。そして、ウェヒ＝ヌヌイ＝ア＝モモアの外套を何着か持って行った。ターネはヒラウツ、ポレリ＝ヌク、星の集団、つまり、プアガ、タクルア、ファカレ＝プカレフ、クアキ＝モツモツ、タフ＝ウェルウェル、ウェロ、ウェロ＝テ＝ニニヒ、ウェロ＝テ＝ココト、ウェロ＝イ＝テ＝アオ＝マーオリを持ち返った。夏になるとこの星の集団はそこ[3]にちりばめられることだろう。

２０）
ターネは家に帰ってきたとき、ランギがそこで怪我をして倒れているのを見つけた。ランギはパパツアヌクをめぐってタカロアによって傷つけられていた。つまり、タカロアは家に帰ってきた時に、ランギがパパツアヌクと寝たことを悟った。そこで、彼等は決闘したのだ。双方はそれぞれ槍を手にした。彼等は前に歩み出た。ランギはタカロアに向かって槍を投げた。タカロアは横に身をかわし、そのの槍は甥のランギの尻を突き刺さした。両側の尻に一度に突き刺さったため、ランギは平伏してしまった。

２１）
ランギはパパツアヌクを妻に娶った。やがて、ターネ＝クーパパ＝エオ、ターネ＝ミミ＝ファレ、ターネ＝ナカトウ、ターネ＝ファーローロー、ターネ＝

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[3]おそらく「そこ」とは、空、つまりランギのことであろう。

フーペケ、ターネ＝ツーツリ、ターネ＝テ＝ワイオラ、ターネ＝テ＝マタ＝ツー、ターネ＝ツタカ達が生まれた。これらの子供達は完全に平伏していた。その後に、ターネ＝ヌイ＝ア＝ランギとパイアが産まれた。彼等は家族の中でも直立していた者達だった。

２２）
ランギの嘆き

ランギとテ＝マク（暗黒）がここに平伏している。
タマイレトロ、タマイレトロ。我々を引き離してくれ。
タマイレトロ、タマイレトロ。我々を引き離してくれ。
アリとフアが、ここに平伏している。
タマイレトロ、タマイレトロ。我々を引き離してくれ。
タマイレトロ、タマイレトロ。我々を引き離してくれ。
我々二人がここで重なって平伏している。
タマイレトロ、タマイレトロ。我々を引き離してくれ。

２３）
パイアはランギを上に持ち上げるべきだと主張した。ターネはパイアに言った。「そんなことは無理だよ。持ち上げるには十分な人手が足りないよ。」

パイアは再びターネにランギを持ち上げるべきだと言った。彼は「ランギを持ち上げろ」と言った。

パイアは持ち上げることができなかったので、ランギはなおもそこに平伏したままだった。ターネは叫んだ。「この上にいるのはだれだい。」

そこで、彼等が空の上のから答えた。「ランギを持ち上げて抱え込め。」

ターネは下に向かって叫んだ。「この下にいるのはだれだい。」
「ランギを持ち上げて支えていろ。」

２４）

ターネは叫んだ。

立ち上がり、伸びよ。山を持ち上げろ。
立ち上がり、伸びよ。山を持ち上げろ。
そして、山をターネによって引き離させてくれ。

２５）

それから、ランギを引き上げた人々は再び下に戻って行き、ターネは父親を見上げてみた。しかし、父親はあまり美しく飾られてはいなかった。そこで、ターネはアオ＝ケフに行った。アワルアにはクラ[4]があった。今クラはそこにあったので、ターネはそれらを持ち帰った。ターネはそこに立ち、クラを持ち上げ、それらすべてをきちんと配置した。それからターネは下に戻ってきて、上を見上げた。すべてなにもかも真っ暗だった。そこで、ターネは再び同じ場所へ出かけて行って、クラを元の場所へ返した。彼はアオ＝ケフまでもどって、星を持ち帰り、それらを持ち上げて、きちんと並べた。ターネは空の魚、天の川（ミルキーウエイ）を広げ、パナコ＝テ＝アオとマゼラン星雲[5]をそこに配置した。そして、カノーポス[6]（その年の星）もそこに置いた。ターネはそこに留まり、遂に美しく飾られて見えた父親を見上げた。。

２６）

そして今、ターネは自分の近くにいる親のパパツアヌクを美しく飾っていないことに気がついた。そこで、ターネは彼の母親のパパツアヌクを美しく飾るために自分の子孫達を選んだ。それは木々だった。ターネは木々の頭を上に向け、足を下に向けた。ターネは脇によって母親を見てみた。しかし、彼

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[4]おそらく黄昏であろう。

[5]南半球の空に輝く不規則型星雲。大マゼラン雲と小マゼラン雲とがある。銀河系とともに三重星雲と考えられている。マゼランが世界週航の途上で発見。（Shinmura, 1972: 2078.）

[6]流骨座のアルファ一星（各星座中最も明るい星。首星。）で-0.7等星；全天第２の輝星。

（Koine, 1980: 317.）この星は孤立しているのでマオリにとってはとても神聖な星である。

女はまだ、充分美しく飾られてはいなかった。そこで、ターネは木々を逆さまにした。頭を下にし、足を上にした。彼は脇によって見てみた。そして、遂に母親は飾られて美しく見えた。

２７）

ランギは何が起こっているのかを見極めるため、テ＝アキとファティウアをそこに送った。彼らは大地の果実イナホとマルをみつけたので、それらの果実を食べに行ってしまった。そこで。ランギはウルとカカナをそこへ送った。彼等は花の咲く木の果実をみつけて、それらをむさぼり食べて戻らなかった。彼等はそこに永久に留まった。

２８）

タカロア

タカロアはパパツアヌクを妻に娶った。タカロアはファキタウの宝物がある遥か彼方のカーフイ＝プーアキアキまで出かけて行った。やがて、タカロアは帰ってきたが、その時には妻のパパツアヌクはランギと暮らしていた。タカロアは槍を持って攻撃を仕掛け、ランギもまた槍で意表をつく攻撃にでた。彼等は互いに、にじりよった。ランギがタカロアめがけて槍を突き、タカロアはそれをかわした。ランギの槍は脇にそれてしまった。タカロアの槍は甥ランギの両方の尻をつらぬき、ランギは平伏してしまった。それで、女はランギの手もとに残された。そして、ランギはパパツアヌクをも平伏せさせた。

２９）

ターネ

ターネは女達（ヌクロアとタマテアの妻達）に「ハラケケ[7]を何本か切るように」と言った。ターネはこのハラケケで罠を編んだ。罠は出来上がった。風が吹き、鳥達が水辺にやって来た。ターネは水の上に罠をしかけた。鳥達が近くに来るとターネーは罠を陸にむけて引っぱり、横に倒した。夕方になったころにはとれた鳥達で山積みになっていた。ターネは、女達のいる家に戻り、彼女達に、「鳥を取りにいくように。」と告げた。

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[7]ハラケケはニュージーランドの亜麻のこと。南島ではハラレカとも言うようである。マオリはハラケケ、篭などを作った。

女達は鳥が山積みになった場所に着いた。それぞれの女に、一積み分づつあった。彼女らは鳥の毛を全部引き抜き終えると、みんなのために食事を用意した。

３０）

ヒネ＝アタウイラ

ヒネ＝アタウイラはパパツアヌクに聞いた。「私の夫はどこに行ってしまったのですか。」彼女は答えた。「えっ、おまえさんの夫だって。彼は本当はおまえさんの父親なんだよ。」ヒネ＝アタウイラは恥ずかしさのあまり闇の世界へと降りて行き、そこに姿を隠してしまった。

３１）

ターネのヒネ＝アタウイラへの歌

おまえは本当に私の子供なのかい。
アロ＝イ＝タウ（長い年月の間）に置き去りにされた。
テ＝クラ＝マーフキフキ、今は私の空に通じる道。
おまえは私をテ＝ランギ＝ポーフタカワに置き去りにしたのだ。
私は立ち去り嘆き悲むことだろう。
プーテレ＝ランギの家の戸口で。

３２）

ヒネ＝アタウイラの歌

ターネよ、あなたは本当に私の父親なのですか。
ハワイキのテ＝クラ＝マーフキフキでの集まりは、
今は空へ通じる私の道。
あなた私をテ＝ランギ＝ポーフタカワに置き去りにしたわ。
私は立ち去り、嘆き悲むことでしょう。
プーテレ＝ランギの家の戸口で。

３３）

パイアによるランギの押し上げ

ランギより。

パイアの大きな背中を真直ぐに伸ばして、
テ＝カワ＝イ＝フアラウは痛を感じる。

ランギの分離。

ランギとパパを引き離せ。
そうすれば、ふたりは別れ別れになる。
タマイレトロ、タマイレトロ、私達を引き離しておくれ。
タマイレトロ、タマイレトロ。
テ＝マクとタマ＝イ＝ワホを引き離せ。
そうすれば、ふたりは別れ別れになる。
タマイレトロ。
アリとフアを引き離せ。
そうすれば、ふたりは別れ別れになる。
タマイレトロ。
レフアとタマ＝ラウツを引き離せ。
そうすれば、ふたりは別れ別れになる。
タマイレトロ。
ウルとカカナを引き離せ。
そうすれば、ふたりは別れ別れになる。
タマイレトロ。
テ＝アキとファティウアを引き離せ。
そうすれば、ふたりは別れ別れになる。
タマイレトロ。
ツーとロコを引き離せ。そうすれば、ふたりは別れ別れになる。
タマイレトロ。

3. Explanations of the story

(1) Ancient Maori Customs and Beliefs.

It is important to know something of Maori customs and beliefs in order to understand the story.

The heavens

There are usually ten heavens according to the ancient Maori beliefs, although some believe there are nine or eleven heavens. The lowest heaven is directly above the earth. The highest one is the tenth heaven (or in some accounts the eleventh). There are gods who reside as guardians in most heavens. Each god has a different character. Ngāti Hau (a North Island tribe) give the following description: The first heaven has fissures and the light can go through it. Beneath this heaven there is a pathway which the sun and the moon can pass through.The second heaven is the home for rain, fog and water. The third heaven is for the winds. The fourth heaven is the place for the spirits of humans. The fifth heaven is for the world of daylight. The heavens above the fifth one are for the gods of the sun. The tenth one which is the greatest, is for Rehua.[1]

As we have seen (in paragraphs 7-8, 24 in the story), the ten heavens are created by Tāne in the South Island versions.

Karakia

In the Murihiku version, an incantation is chanted when Tāne visits Rehua (paragraph 9).

The Maori word for a chant or an incantation is *karakia*. The *karakia* are expressed in a recited style. They are very old and important in traditional Maori society. At every occasion of planting or important rites, *karakia* are recited as a part of the appropriate ceremony to call on the gods to help people or to ward off

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[1]Beattie, 1990: 25; 29; Orbell, 1965:16-8. There are many variants.

disaster. Therefore *karakia* frequently appear in Maori stories.

Waiata

Many songs are found in Maori lore. They are an essential part of their culture. The Maori word for a song is *waiata*. *Waiata* are expressed in a singing style. Most *waiata* are in the form of a complaint because the poets are in a sad situation. Maori songs are sung in public to express poets' feelings.[2]

Rangi's grieving songs can be found in paragraphs 22 and 33, which are episodes about him being separated from his wife Papa-tua-nuku. Tāne and Hine-ata-uira also exchange lamenting songs in paragraph 31 and 32 as they separated.

These separation songs are what are known as *waiata aroha*. It is said that Rangi and Papa-tua-nuku exchanged the first ones and this sets the pattern for future lovers to follow. However, since in Maori society it was usually the man who abandoned the woman, and since women could not take action in the same way that men could (take revenge, or actively seek a new partner) women were the ones who usually composed and sang *waiata aroha*.[3]

(2) The names in the story

The names are presented here in the same order as they appear in the story.

i) Personal names.

1)
Rangi

The name Rangi literally means, 'sky'. Other names are Rangi-roa meaning, 'long sky', Rangi-nui, 'great sky', and Rangi-e-tū-nei, 'sky standing here'. Rangi

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[2]Orbell, 1983: 3.

[3]Orbell, 1978: 106-7; Orbell, 1983: 3.

is the sky father or the personification of the sky. In the Maori belief Rangi is the prime god. He is the first male, and he and his wife Papa-tua-nuku are the primal parents. Therefore, all gods and human beings are their descendants. According to Maori tradition Rangi is separated from Papa-tua-nuku by his children. In some versions his son Tāne is the one who actually lifts him up. The name Rangi-nui may also be because Rangi felt very heavy to Tāne when he lifted him. In most South Island versions Rangi is a nephew of Takaroa and the second husband of Papa-tua-nuku, while in the North Island he is her first husband.[4]

Papa-tua-nuku

The name Papa literally means 'foundation' or 'flat surface'. Papa is the earth, or the personification of the earth. She is the first woman and the primal parent with Rangi, being the mother of all beings. There are a number of variants to her name, such as Papa and Papa-matua (Papa the parent). In the version collected by Shortland, Papa is distinguished from Papa-tua-nuku. She is one of the wives of Rangi. In the South Island versions Takaroa is Papa-tua-nuku's first husband.[5]

Tāne

The name Tāne literally means 'man' or 'male'. Tāne is seen as one of the greatest deities all over Polynesia. He is generally regarded as the male principal, or as the god of light.[6] In New Zealand Tāne is regarded as more important than Takaroa, while Takaroa is regarded as the prime deity in other parts of Polynesia.

Tāne is the father of trees, birds and humans, the creator of the world and the son of Rangi and Papa-tua-nuku. According to Maori tradition he separated his parents, pushing one upward and the other downward, and brought the

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[4]Beattie, 1990: 25; 37; 28; Orbell, 1995: 146-7; Shortland, 1882: 11; Smith, 1913: 18; Tiramōrehu, 1987: 3-4; 25-6; Wohlers, 1874: 5-7; 31-3.

[5]Beattie, 1990: 37; Houghton, 1895: 129; Orbell, 1995: 133; Shortland, 1882: 17-18; Smith, 1894: 13; Tiramōrehu, 1987: 2-4; 24-6; Wohlers, 1874: 5-7; 31-3.

[6]Best, 1925: 759; Tregear, 1891: 461; Orbell, 1965: 19; Wohlers, 1874: 8.

light to the world in order to allow all beings to live there.[7]

His name varies from version to version. His full name is Tāne-nui-o-Rangi, 'Great-Tāne-of-Rangi. He is also referred to as Tāne-mahuta, the father of all beings in the forest or personification of trees and birds, or Tāne-matāhi, the personification of birds.[8]

In the South Island Tāne is associated with 'the origin and final destiny of mankind'[9]. Tāne is well known as the creator of humankind. In the Tiramōrehu version he creates the first man, Tiki-Auaha, and the first woman, Io-Wahine, out of the earth in Hawaiki. According to some traditions, Tāne makes only the first woman. In some versions the final destiny of humankind is doomed by Tāne's sin which is incest. However Tāne also creates human souls and gives life to newly-born babies at the sacred lake in the heavens. This lake, where the moon bathes in order to restore life, is known as Wai-ora-a-Tāne, 'the living waters of Tāne'. Trees, plants and animals also drink the water and gain new life.[10]

The South Island versions also tell that Tāne is the creator of the heavens. When he lifts Rangi up, separating him from Papa-tua-nuku with a pole, ten heavens are created. In the Murihiku version the skies are created by Tāne. In the Tikao version the ten heavens are formed out of the pole which Tāne used when lifting Rangi. Tāne leaves his descendants in each heaven.[11]

Another of his roles is decorating his parents. In paragraph 25 of the Murihiku story, he puts stars on his father, Rangi. Tikao mentions that he leaves his canoe in the sky. It becomes a cluster of stars and is renamed Te Waka-a-Tamarereti. Tamarereti is believed to be a family which is lifted to the sky and

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[7]Beattie, 1990: 37; Orbell, 1995: 179-181; Wohlers, 1874: 6-8; 33; Orbell, 1965: 19-20.

[8]Alpers, 1964: 17; Beattie, 1990: 28; Best, 1925: 759; Grey, 1855: 2; Inoue, 1982: 8; Orbell, 1995: 179; Wohlers, 1874: 8; Yuihama, 1996: 19; Orbell, 1965: 18-20.

[9]Wohlers, 1874: 8.

[10]Beattie, 1990: 32-3; 35; Orbell, 1995: 179; Tiramōrehu, 1987: 9-11; 31-3; Wohlers, 1874: 8-9; 34; Orbell, 1965: 19-20.

[11]Beattie, 1990: 25.

stays there, being immortal. Tāne plants trees, which are his offspring and sends the trees from the heavens to the earth.[12]

5)

Hine-hāone

The name Hine-hāone literally means, 'a maid formed out of the soil'. Hine-hāone is the first woman who was made out of the earth by Tāne. She is also his first wife. In some versions, Tāne makes her at the mons veneris of his mother, Papa, called 'the sands at Kurawaka'. He makes all parts of her body and attaches female genitals. According to Mohi Ruatapu of Ngāti Porou, Tāne thrusts his penis against the parts of her body one by one and sweat, pupils, mucus and saliva are created.[13]

6)

Hine-ata-uira

The name Hine-ata-uira could be divided into either Hine-a-tauira (meaning, 'pattern woman') or Hine-ata-uira (meaning, 'a maid of the glistening morning' or 'dawn glow woman'). She is the daughter of Tāne and Hine-hāone. She becomes the wife of Tāne, not knowing that Tāne is her real father. When she discovers her birth she runs away from Tāne and hides herself in the underworld. In some lore she becomes the goddess of death and a guardian of the Dark world, and changes her name into Hine-nui-te-pō (meaning, 'Great woman of the night').[14]

Hine-tītama

The name probably means, 'a maid of the first offspring'. This is another name for Hine-ata-uira, daughter of Tāne and Hine-hāone. Since she is believed to have been an extremely beautiful woman, her name has been used in later times to compliment beautiful women by saying, *"You are Hine-tītama, the sight of you brings tears to our eyes"* [15] Some accounts tell that she is the

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[12]Ibid: 29-31; Wohlers, 1874: 6; 32-3.

[13]Orbell, 1995: 54; Reedy, 1993: 118; Wohlers, 1874: 8; 34.

[14]Beattie, 1990: 34-5; Orbell, 1995: 64; Tremewan, 1992: 143-6; Wohlers, 1874: 8; 34.

[15]Orbell, 1995: 64.

mother of Hine-nui-te-pō, as well as Tahu-kumea and Tahu-whakairo.[16]

Te Kukumia (Tahu-kumea) , Tau-whakairo (Tahu-whakairo), Te Hau-otioti (Tahu-oti-atu), Kumia-te-pō (Tahu-kume-te-pō), Tahu-kumie-te-ao

These are children of Hine-ata-uira and Tāne. The names imply negative qualities, meaning, 'a drawing toward death, corruption, and the world of night'[17]. In the Tiramōrehu and the Tikao versions the names Tahukumia, Tahuwhakaero, Tahutūturi, Tahupēpeke and Tahupūkai are listed. The word Tau seems equivalent to 'Tahu' which has a negative meaning in the South Island. These children are born evil, probably because their parents commit incest. Similar names appear in one lot of children of Rangi and Papa-tua-nuku. Both of these groups of children are mentioned as the ones who drag humankind to death. Some accounts state that Tahu-kumea and Tahu-whakairo are two young girls who are with Hine-nui-te-pō (also known as Hine-tītama) in the underworld and who watch the souls of the dead entering the next world at the pathway to the underworld and who guide them to the appropriate place to go. In other accounts they are daughters of Hine-tītama and sisters of Hine-nui-te-pō.[18]

7)

Rehua

According to Williams's Dictionary, Rehua means Antares: 'the star which was regarded as the sign of summer'.[19] Among Tūhoe, Rehua has two wives Rūhī and Whakaonge-kai, who are also visible stars. He spends time with Rūhī who offers food to humans during the early summer, while Whaka-onge-kai ('make food scarce') is with him during mid-summer when food is scarce. According to Hare Hongi, Rehua is also the summer name for Sirius.[20]

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[16]Beattie, 1990: 35.

[17]Wohlers, 1874: 8.

[18]Beattie, 1990: 32-35; Tiramōrehu, 1987: 2; 5; 24; 27; Tremewan, 1992: 113-4; White, 1887, I: 29; Wohlers, 1874: 8; 34.

[19]Williams, 1988: 334.

[20]Orbell, 1995: 154; Shortland, 1882: 17; Stowell (Hare Hongi), 1913: 197; 201-2.

As Rehua controls the food supply to humankind and warfare often takes place after crops are planted, he is called 'Rehua who devours humankind'. Other tribes identify him as Betelgeuse or Sirius. In the Shortland version from the South Island, Rehua is also mentioned as being a star.[21]

In the South Island he is the eldest son of Rangi and Papa-tua-nuku, and elder brother to Tāne. He takes part in the lifting of Rangi in order to separate him from Papa-tua-nuku.[22] In Tūhoe and Ngāi Tahu stories, he offers visitors (Rupe and Tāne) food, tūi birds[23] which come from his head and which have eaten the lice on his head. However, the visitors do not wish to eat them because of their sacredness as they have been on Rehua's head. He seems to have the power to make others blind. For instance Tāne is afraid of eating the food from Rehua's head, in case he might go blind. Rangi also tells Tāne not to let Rehua carry him alone so that he won't lose his eyesight.[24]

Rehua is also thought to be the originator of the art of cooking. In some versions of Ngāi Tahu Rehua is the first person who lights a fire to cook food, which is the fruit of trees and fish. He is believed to reside in the highest sky. In the Murihiku version and Ngāti Hau lore he dwells in the tenth heaven which is the higest of the heavens, whereas in the Tikao version, he resides in the ninth heaven, being the sun, and in charge there. As he lives in the sky, he is sacred and superior to Tāne. However it is peculiar that he does not know the proper *karakia* when he greets Tāne. Because he dwells in the highest sky where eternal life exists, he is able to cure all diseases. Therefore people regard him as very *tapu* and make offerings to him. [25]

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[21]Orbell, 1995: 154; Shortland, 1882: 17.

[22]White, 1887,I: 47.

[23]Tūi (a parson bird) was a delicacy and was served to special guests.

[24]Beattie, 1990: 29;Orbell, 1965:17; Orbell, 1995: 154; Tiramōrehu, 1987: 6; 27-8; Tremewan, 1992: 114-5; Wohlers, 1874: 8-9; 34-5.

[25]Beattie, 1990: 29; Orbell, 1995: 154; Tiramōrehu, 1987: 6; 27-8; Tremewan, 1992: 114-5; Wohlers, 1874: 8-9; 34-5.

12)

Nukuroa, Tamatea-kai-whakapua

They are in a group of people who catch and eat rats in the Murihiku version. Tāne visits their home and sleeps with their wives while they are away. It is unclear whether they live in the skies.[26]

Te Tapu-ao, Hine-ki-taha-rangi

They are the supreme heads of the rat people in the Murihiku version. It seems rats are made as offerings for them to eat. Their status seems to be the highest among the people, as the term *ariki*, which means, 'first born members of a high chieftain family', is used. *Ariki* used to play important roles in a family, including religious rites and important tribal rituals.

19)

Tū-kai-nanapia

On the way back from the underworld Tāne arrives at the house of Tū-kai-nanapia, and gains the cloaks.[27]

Wehi-nunui-a-momoa

Tāne takes cloaks belongings to Wehi-nunui-a-momoa from Tū-kai-nanapia's home. According to the *whakapapa* in the Tiramōrehu version, Wehi-nunui-a-momoa or -mamao is a son of Raki and Papa-tua-nuku and a younger brother of Tāne.[28]

20)

Takaroa

Takaroa is regarded as the supreme god and originator of the world in Polynesia. However in the North Island Maori mythology he is one of the sons of Rangi and Papa-tua-nuku. He is the father or god of all sea creatures. Since he controls the realm of the ocean he is an enemy of Tāne who is in charge of the realm of land. In the South Island he is an uncle of Rangi and the first husband

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[26]Wohlers, 1874: 9; 35.

[27]Ibid: 7; 33.

[28]Tiramōrehu, 1987: 2; 24.

of Papa-tua-nuku.[29]

In the Shortland version he is the ancestor of fish and the pounamu (greenstone) which Maori in traditional times classified as fish. All of the fish classes are descended from him and his wife Te Anu-matao.[30]

21)

Tāne-kupapa-eo, Tāne-mimi-whare, Tāne-nakatou, Tāne-waroro, Tāne-hūpeke, Tāne-tūturi, Tāne-te-waroro, Tāne-te-mata-tu, Tāne-tutaka

These are the children of Rangi and Papa-tua-nuku who are lying flat after Rangi gets wounded in the duel with Takaroa. They are deformed, being cripples, crooked, with drawn-up legs, stiff stretched out legs and so on.[31]

22)

Te Maku

This name appears in Rangi's grieving *waiata*, in close relation to the name Rangi. He appears as Rangi's father in the *whakapapa* of the Tiramōrehu version. He marries Mahoranuiatea who gives birth to Rangi. According to Tikao, Te Maku (meaning 'black, dark or night-like') is described as a celestial being who emerges from the thick darkness of space or the dark waters of the sea. He begets the sun, Rehua, with his first wife, and the moon, Marama, with his second wife.[32]

Te Ari, Hua

The word *ari* literally means, 'clear, visible, white', while the word *hua* literally means, 'fruit'. These names appear together in Rangi's grieving. In the Shortland version, Te Ari and Hua are children of Rangi and his second wife Papa-tua-nuku. Te Ari and Hua are twins.[33]

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[29]Best, 1925: 746; Orbell, 1995: 182-3; Houghton, 1895: 129; Wohlers, 1874: 5.; Orbell, 1965: 18.

[30]Shortland, 1882: 17-8.

[31]Wohlers, 1874: 6; 33; White, 1887,I: 25.

[32]Beattie, 1990: 24; Tiramōrehu, 1987: 1, 23.

[33]Shortland, 1882: 17-8; Wohlers, 1874: 34.

According to the *whakapapa* in the Tiramōrehu version, Hua is one of the children of Rangi and Papa-tua-nuku, being born after Rehua and Tāne.[34]

Te Aki, Whatiua, Uru, Ngangana

In *whakapapa* in the Tiramōrehu version, they are also the children of Rangi and Papa-tua-nuku, born after Rehua and Tāne.[35] It is not known what these names mean.

23)

Paia

Paea is a dialectic variation of this name. In most versions Paia is a son of Rangi and Papa-tua-nuku and a younger brother of Tāne. However in some accounts he is described as a female. For instance, in the Shortland version, Paea is a younger sister of Tāne and the youngest daughter of Rangi-potiki and his third wife Papa. The most obvious meaning of Paia is 'closed', although Wohlers sees it as a shortened form of Pai-ao, 'Beautiful Cloud'.[36]

Paia is depicted as an assistant of Tāne. In some Maori lore Paia assists Tāne in lifting up Rangi in order to separate his parents. For instance, in the Tiramōrehu version of Ngāi Tahu, Paia lifts up Rangi and separates Rangi with his companions for the sake of Tāne. In the Shortland version she carries Rangi on her back. In the Ngāti Kahungunu version of the story, Paia is a *tapu* man who raises Rangi on his back, chanting. In another myth from Ngāti Kahungunu, Paia appears as Tāne's helper. Tūhoe relates that Paia-te-Rangi props Rangi up after Tāne pushes him up, although others state that Paia-te-Rangi and Tāne are the same person. In the southern versions he is one of Rangi's children who are standing upright. Paia chants an incantation to separate his parents. He tries to lift up Rangi and fails. Then Tāne tries and succeeds. According to a Moeraki story Tāne and his sister Paia marry and give birth to

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[34]Tiramōrehu, 1987: 2; 24.

[35]Ibid; Wohlers, 1874: 34.

[36]Orbell, 1995: 129-30; Shortland, 1882: 19-20; Tiramōrehu, 1987: 2; 24; Wohlers, 1874: 6-7; 33.

the first human beings.[37]

33)

Tama-i-waho, Tama-rautu

In Rangi's lamenting *waiata* when his children separate him from Papa-tua-nuku, Tama-i-waho appears paired with Te Maku and Tama-rautu appears together with Rehua. According to the Tiramōrehu version Tama-i-waho is the first-born child of Rangi and Hekehekeipapa, while Tama-rautu is one of their children.[38]

Tū, Roko

These names appear together in Rangi's lamenting *waiata.* In the *whakapapa* of the Tiramōrehu version, they appear as two of the children of Rangi and Papa-tua-nuku. According to the version collected by Grey, Tū's full name is Tū-matauenga and he is described as the god of war or the personification of human beings, while Roko's full name is Roko-mā-Tāne and he is identified as the god or the personification of the kūmara. In Grey's version again they are the sons of Rangi and Papa.[39] In the Shortland version Rongo is one of the children of Rangi-pōtiki and his second wife, Papa-tua-nuku.[40]

ii) Other Names.

3)

Mautarere, Punaweko

Mautarere and Punaweko seem to be personal names. They are probably guardians of female parts and give female genetalia to Tāne. In the Tiramōrehu version, Mahuta (a variant of Mautarere) is in possession of a penis and Punaweko has pubic hair, so they are therefore also guardians of male parts.[41]

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[37]Orbell, 1995: 129-30; Shortland, 1882: 20.

[38]Tiramōrehu, 1987: 2; 24.

[39]Grey, 1885: 2; Tiramōrehu, 1987: 2; 24; Wohlers, 1874: 5.

[40]Shortland, 1882: 17.

[41]Tiramōrehu, 1987: 9; 31.

9)

Rangi-pua-iho

Rangi-pua-iho appears in Tāne's chant when Tāne meets his brother Rehua in the sky. From the chant we can see that this name implies the prop which Tāne uses to lift Rangi up to the sky. In the Tiramōrehu version the word, 'Ruatipua' is used for the prop instead, and the lifter is not Tāne but Paia in this case. In the Shortland version Tokohurunuku and Tokohururangi are given as names for the two props.[42]

17)

Te Rēinga

In ancient Maori belief souls of the dead stay at home for their mourning for three days and then depart to Te Rēinga. Some people identify Te Rēinga with Cape Rēinga in the North Island. In some accounts, it is deemed to be a pathway to the underworld, a leaping place where human souls go to the next world. Sometimes the word is used for the underworld, where Hine-nui-te-pō stays as a guardian. Some also interpret that souls go under the sea, passing through the roots of a big tree. Therefore Te Rēinga could be under the sea.[43]

18)

Poutui-te-Rangi

In the Murihiku version and the Tiramōrehu version, this is the name of the house in the underworld, which Tāne finally reaches when he follows his wife Hine-ata-uira. Hine-ata-uira seems to be in the house. However, according to the Tikao version, Pou-tu-te-Rangi is the pole with which Tāne lifts Rangi up, and its ten joints become the ten heavens.[44]

The variant of this name Poutu-te-Raki[45] also appears in Tāne's song in a Ngāi Tahu version collected by White. It is also described as the name of the house where Hine-tītama hid because of being ashamed of her background. In a

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[42]Shortland, 1882: 20; Tiramōrehu, 1987: 4; 26.

[43]Beattie, 1990: 33-4; Orbell, 1995: 206-7.

[44]Tiramōrehu, 1987: 7; 29; Beattie, 1990: 25.

[45]Raki in Poutu-te-raki is spelt *k* for the North Island *ng* because the Ngāi Tahu *k* corresponds to the North Island *ng*.

song which belongs to Ngāti Kahungunu, Poutere-rangi appears as the great marae to which Hine-tītama goes.[46]

According to all the versions above, the name is the house or marae in the underworld to which Hine-ata-uira (or Hine-tītama) finally flees. However, the word has other meanings. Williams gives the word as Altair (or sometimes Antares) or the tenth month of the Maori year. Altair is the star which appears in the tenth month.[47]

22)

Tamaire-toro

This word appears severals times in Rangi's grieving. The meaning of 'Tamairetoro' is unknown. It could be a proper name, or a kind of chorus.[48]

25)

Ao-kehu

This is the place where Tāne fetches *kura* and stars in the story. Ao-kehu is probably either a personal or a place name.[49]

Awarua

This is the place where *kura* is in the story. Awarua is a place name which is related to Hawaiki. One meaning of this word is 'dogskin cloak'.[50] Dogskin cloaks were very precious, so this could indicate a place which is very important.

27)

Inaho, Maru

They are mentioned as the fruits of the earth and found by the messengers of Rangi in the Murihiku version. In William's dictionary, *inaho* means 'a shrub'

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[46]Best, 1923: 116-7; White, 1887, I: 131 (said to be by Ngā Rauru, but actually by Ngāi Tahu).

[47]Best, 1986-b: 41; Williams, 1988: 299.

[48]Tremewan, 1992: 143-6.

[49]Ibid: 123-4.

[50]Williams, 1988: 24.

and maru 'a tree'.[51]

However, according to Elsdon Best, Maru is the name for "some luminous appearance, occasionally seen in the heavens"[52]. Maori identify it as comets, the rainbow, lightning, meteors, etc., and it is the visible form of *atua*, a supernatural being, in the traditional Maori point of view. Maru is regarded as a god who saves Maori. Maori also read fortunes from its form. The way they foretold from it is as follows: if a travelling war party saw Maru following them in the shape of a bow, it would bring good luck. On the other hand if Maru was seen in an incompleted form it was a sign of ill fortune.[53] Maru brings oracles through human mouths, and is also associated with the rainbow. In the west coast tribes in the North Island, Maru is regarded as one of the secondary gods. Maru has other names, such as Maru-te-whare-rangi.[54]

In Ngati Hau belief, Maru is among the gods of this world, who appear before Rangi and after the primal darkness, and is also among the first group of gods, the gods of lights.[55]

iii) Names of the stars

In traditional Maori society Maori learnt the names of the stars and planets from their elders and maintained the knowledge of them. Polynesians are famous for using the stars as a guide in navigation.[56]

Maori also invoked the stars for a good harvest. They made offerings to particular stars and held special rites. Some tribes believe that spirits of the dead become stars. They also used the stars to read fortunes. They regarded the stars as oracles from the heavens. Therefore their belief in the stars is often seen in Maori stories.

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[51]Ibid: 77; 184.

[52]Best,1986-b: 70.

[53]Ibid.

[54]Ibid.

[55]Orbell, 1965: 16.

[56]Aoyagi, 1979: 30; Best, 1986-b: 33-8; Lewis, 1977: 19; 31-5.

Star lore seems to have been taught as one of the subjects at special houses of learning in former times. However, some of the old knowledge concerning the stars is unfortunately lost at present. Star-names vary from tribe to tribe.[57]

A. Stars about which some information is available.

19)

Poaka

In the South Island this star indiates Rigel[58] in Orion.[59] A variant of this name, Puaka (or Puanga), is mentioned in Tāne's song in the Ngāi Tahu version collected by White and the Ngāti Kahungunu version. In the song it appears in the second group of stars which are said to be 'rulers of the year'.[60]

Takurua

This star indicates Sirius.[61] This name is also seen in the second group of stars, the 'rulers of the year'.[62] According to Hare Hongi, Takurua is the winter name for Sirius and Rehua is the summer one.[63]

Wero-te-ninihi, Wero-te-kokoto

These stars form Sirius.[64] These names are seen in Tāne's song in the Ngāi Tahu version collected by White and the Ngāi Kahungunu version.[65] Both the names relate to 'the cold months.' According to Nepia Pohuhu, these two names are 'cold heaven' grouped with Wero-i-te-wawana-anu-rangi.[66]

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[57]Best,1986-b: 28-33.

[58]Rigel is the second brightest star in Orion. It is a star of the first magnitude which glistens, emitting white light.

[59]Best,1986-b: 39.

[60]Best, 1923:116-117; White, 1887, I: 131.

[61]Best,1986-b: 41. Sirius is a head star in Canis Major. It glistens, emitting white light. It is seen on winter mornings in the southern hemisphere.

[62]White, 1887, I: 117; 131.

[63]Stowell, 1913: 197; 201-202.

[64]Best. 1986-b: 41.

[65]Best, 1923:116-117; White, 1887, I: 117; 131.

[66]Beattie, 1990: 25; Tiramōrehu, 1987: 8; 30; Smith, 1913: 21, 120; Stowell, 1913: 197; 204.

25)

Te-Ika-o-te-Rangi

This word literally means 'the Fish of the sky' or 'the Cluster of the sky', and is the galaxy known to Europeans as the Milky Way. Other names for the Milky Way are Te Ika-roa, Te Ika-matua-o-Tangaroa, Te Ika-a-Māui and Mangōroa. Another South Island name is Whiti-kaupeka.[67] In the Tiramōrehu version, 'te Ika Matua a Taḵaroa', which means 'Taḵaroa's Great Fish', is used.[68] This star name is in Tāne's song in the Ngāi Tahu version collected by White.[69]

Panako-te-ao

This seems to be one of the constellations of the Magellan Clouds. Purei-ao is also a term for the Magellan Clouds. The *ao* means 'cloud.'[70]

Ngā Pāteri

This is 'the collective term for the two Magellanic Clouds'[71]. In the Tiramōrehu version, Manako-tea (or Light Manako) and Manako-uri (or Dark Manako) are used. Manako-tea indicates one of the Magellan clouds, which emit light, being satellite galaxies of the Milky Way. It seems quite large among the Clouds as at night it appears close to the Coalsack with the same size and shape. Manako-uri means the Coalsack, a dark spot near the constellation of the Southern Cross or the dark patch to be seen enclosed in the Milky Way, which is a nebula formed of gas and dust.[72]

Autahi

The other names for Autahi are Atutahi and Aotahi. Autahi is Canopus[73] which is the second brightest star among the visible ones. It is a very important star, being identified as a male and the first-born star in Maori belief. In Maori lore,

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[67]Beattie, 1917:108; Best,1986-b: 39; Williams, 1971: 108.

[68]Best,1986-b: 39; Tiramōrehu, 1987: 8; 30; Tremewan, 1992: 123-4.

[69]White, 1887, I: 131.

[70]Best, 1986-b: 75; Tiramōrehu, 1987: 8; 30; Tremewan, 1992: 123-4; Williams, 1988: 11.

[71]Tremewan, 1992: 124.

[72]Tiramōrehu, 1987: 8; 30; Calder, 1977; Tremewan, 1992: 124; Williams, 1988: 173.

[73]Best, 1986-b: 38; Tremewan, 1992: 124, Williams, 1988: 23.

Tāne throws his basket of stars, which becomes the Milky Way, into the sky when creating the world. Then Autahi holds on to the outside of the basket and stands aloof from other stars. It chooses to remain alone as *tapu* persons do, not mixing with all the other stars. Therefore, it is regarded as the most *tapu* (sacred) star because it stands apart in the sky. Autahi is frequently used to express 'a man of high rank'[74] in poetry or oratory. It is also associated with making food plants fertile.[75]

It frequently appears in *waiata* (Maori songs or poems), and is often coupled with Rehua as Rehua is also very *tapu*.[76] For instance it is seen in the second group of stars, the lords of the year, coupled with Rehua in Tāne's song in the Ngāi Tahu version collected by White and the Ngāti Kahungunu version.[77]

According to one tradition, when Rangi and Papa were separated, some of their offspring stayed as the stars with Rangi in the skies, while others remained with Papa on the earth. Autahi is believed to be among the ones which stayed in the heavens.[78]

Autahi is also very significant in Maori navigation. It is a guiding mark and sign to forecast weather conditions for Maori navigators. Autahi is the sign of the coming of frost.[79]

B. Stars about which nothing is now known.

Hirautu, Poreri-nuku

These are said to be on Wehi-nui-a-mamao's cloak. Wehi-nui-mamao is a younger brother of Tāne. He gives the stars to Tāne in the Tiramōrehu version.[80]

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[74]Orbell, 1995: 33.

[75]Best, 1986-b: 42-3; Orbell, 1995: 33; Stowell, 1913: 203; Ngata and Hurinui, 1959: song 60, line 20; Ngata and Hurinui,1980: song 293, line 6; Tremewan, 1992: 124; Williams, 1988: 23.

[76]Tiramōrehu, 1987: 8; 30; Tremewan, 1992: 124.

[77]Best, 1923:116-117; White, 1887, I: 131.

[78]Best, 1986-b: 31.

[79]Ibid: 33-7.

[80]Tiramōrehu, 1987: 8; 30; Best, 1923:116-117; White, 1887, I: 131.

Te Kāhuwi Whetu

This may be a single star, but as the word Kāhuwi (a variant of Kāhui) means 'assemblage', 'cluster', 'swarm' or 'flock'[81] it may be a way of referring to all the stars in this particular group.

Whakare-pukarehu, Kuaki-motumotu, Tahu-weruweru, Wero, Wero-i-te-ao-māori

The identity of these stars is unknown.

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[81]Williams, 1988: 85.

IV. Cosmogony Myths: comparison and analysis-Japanese / Polynesian / Maori

1. Main sources of Japanese mythology.

There are two main extant documents of Japanese mythology. One is *Kojiki*, and the other is *Nihon shoki*.[1] There are other documents such as *Fudoki*[2] and *Sendai kuji hongi*[3]. However, these other documents are traditions which belong to either particular regions or particular powerful clans.[4] On the other hand *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* were edited by government officials by order of the emperor, and so they are official documents and prose histories of the Japanese nation.[5]

(1) *Kojiki* (Records of Ancient Matters)

This is the oldest extant written account of Japanese myth and tradition. It is an official document which was ordered to be compiled by Emperor Tenmu and was edited by Yasumaro Ohno.[6] *Kojiki* consists of three volumes. According to an introduction written by Yasumoro Ohno, *Kojiki* is believed to have been completed in AD 712.[7] *Kojiki* is considered to have been compiled to state the genealogy of the Imperial family and the ancient traditions preserved by the

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[1]Mizuno, 1996: 20; 34-5.

[2]*Fudoki* are the topographies which contain the descriptions of origins of the names, traditions, natural features and products of a region. There are five extant Fudoki and *Izumo Fudoki* is the only extant complete one.

[3]*Sendai kuji hongi* is also called *Kujiki* or *kuji hongi*. It is a prose history of ten volumes, from the age of the Gods to the era of the empress Suiko, whch is written in chronological form, including the ancient records and traditions. Most of the articles are based on *Nihon shoki* and *Kojiki*. It was most likely compiled in the early Heian period, between the second year of Daidō (807) and the sixth year of Jōhei (936), although the preface that the empress Suiko ordered Soga no Umako and Prince Shōtoku to compile it. The author is unkown but is presumably someone who was related to the Mononobe (clan) (Nihon Koten Bungaku DaijitenHenshū Īnkai, 1984: 648-49).

[4]Mizuno, 1996: 34-5.

[5]Chadwick, 1930: 427-8; Kawazoe, 1971: 20; Matsumoto, 1991: 3; Mizuno, 1996: 36-52; Sakurai, 1970: 10-1.

[6]Mizuno, 1996: 36; Sakurai, 1970: 10, 16.

[7]Kawazoe, 1971: 20; Mizuno, 1996: 16; Ohbayashi, 1973: 21, Sakurai, 1970: 10.

chief families of the Imperial family. *Kojiki* was compiled when the Imperial family unified the Japanese nation, and so its main purpose was to demonstrate the dignity and power of the Imperial family. Therefore, to that end some parts of original myths may have been altered or deleted.[8]

(2) *Nihongi* or *Nihon shoki* (Chronicles of Japan)

The original document of this work is known as *Nihongi*, but it is also frequently called *Nihongi*.[9]

Nihon shoki is was completed in AD 720.[10] *Nihon shoki* is also an official document and was compiled under the supervision of Toneri Shinno who is believed to be the chief editor.[11] *Nihon shoki* is considered to have been edited in order to state not only the genealogy of the Imperial family but also the prestigious nobles. *Nihon shoki* was compiled when bureaucratic nobles governed the centralizing Japanese nation under the Taihō codes which were promulgated in AD 701 imitating Chinese codes of the Tang dynasty as its model.[12] It consists of thirty volumes, including variant versions of traditions belonging to different noble families. *Nihon shoki* is more focused on showing the power of the bureaucratic nobles.[13]

Kojiki and *Nihon shoki* tell a similar cosmogony myth. However, there are some differences in the names of the deities and the order in which the deities appear, although single gods appear first then paired deities come next in both *Nihon shoki* and *Kojiki*.

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[8] Chadwick, 1930: 428; Philippi, 1968: 15-8; Mizuno; 1996: 36-46; Ohbayashi, 1973: 47-51. Sakurai, 1970: 10-23; Umehara, 1980: 140.

[9] Aston, 1956: 1.

[10] Chadwick, 1930: 428; Aston, 1956: xi; Kawazoe, 1971: 20; Matsumoto, 1991: 3; Mizuno, 1996: 16, 47; Sakurai, 1970: 10.

[11] Mizuno, 1996: 47-8; Matsumoto, 1991: 3; Sakurai, 1970: 10.

[12] Collcutt, Jansen, and Kumakura, 1988: 8-9; Chadwick, 1930: 428; Ishi, Itō, Inoue, Ōkibo, Kasahara, Kodama, Takamura, Tsuchida, Fujiki, Hōgetsu, 1982: 40-1; Mizuno, 1996: 50; Sakurai, 1970: 24-5; Zenkoku Rekishi Kyōiku Kenkyū Kyōgi kai, 1997: 24.

[13] Philippi, 1968: 16-8; Mizuno, 1996: 47-51; Ohbayashi, 1973: 47-51; Sakurai, 1970: 23-5;

Nihon shoki seems to be a collection of many different versions belonging to different families, and some versions may have been written based on the stories in *Kojiki* . *Kojiki* does not include several versions. It is more consistent than *Nihon shoki* . Therefore, in this thesis Maori myth is mainly compared with the myths in *Kojiki.*

(3) Summary of the Japanese cosmogony myth

The following is a summary of the Japanese cosmogony myth.

> The prime cosmos starts from chaos, nothingness. Then gradually a shape forms to create the heaven and the earth. Then gods are born one by one. They are all single and invisible. Then Yin and Yang (the female and male principles of Chinese philosophy, the Passive and Active essences)[14] are divided. Then the second type of deity comes. These deities have one spouse each. The last couple of the second type is very important: the couple become creators of the Japanese islands and all forms in the Japanese islands. The female deity dies when she gets burnt giving birth to the Fire deity. She goes to the underworld and stays there. Although the male deity follows her, he fails to take her back. Ever since then they have been separated.[15]

The meanings of the names of the deities in Japanese myth are significant. Their names represent natural phenomena or substances. The name of each god is identified with each step of the cosmogony.[16]

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[14]In the English translation by Philippi Yin and Yang are translated as male and female (Philippi, 1968: 37).

[15]Aston, 1956: 1-31; Chamberlain, 1982: 3-41; Philippi, 1968: 37-71; Mizuno, 1996: 36; 37; Ohbayashi, 1973: 27; tsugita, 1996: 17-74; Ujitani, 1996: 15-32.

[16]Matsumoto, 1994: 164-5; Mizuno, 1996: 78.

2. Comparison between the Japanese and Maori cosmogony myths

We can examine in detail the Japanese myth, and draw the following parallels between the two myths.

(1) From nothingness to the appearance of the first god.

In both myths the cosmos starts with nothingness and chaos. Then the heaven and the earth are created. In the Japanese case the heaven is established first, whereas in the Maori myth the heaven or the sky and the earth coexist from the beginning.

(2) Genealogy of the gods

After the appearance of the first god, the genealogy of the gods is listed. In Japanese myth the first emperor is the descendant of the last god. Therefore, the Imperial family is deemed to be descended from the gods. In traditional Japanese society registering family names was very important in terms of proving social status and closeness to the Imperial family.[17]

Maori myth shares a similar idea, so listing genealogy is also very important. Lists of genealogy are often seen in their cosmogony myths.[18] In Maori belief deities are the ancestors of human beings. Each tribe places great importance on linking themselves with deities or famous ancestors in their genealogy.[19] As a result, their genealogy has been handed down in oral tradition through the generations.

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[17]Sakurai, 1970: 14-5.

[18]Tiramōrehu, 1987: 1-2; 23-4; Eliade, 1963: 22-3.

[19]Chadwick, 1930: 430.

(3) Pïtori-gamï[20], single gods

Pïtori-gamï, the single gods, appear first in Japanese creation myths. They do not have spouses. They are male deities and appear one after another. According to *Kojiki* the single gods can be divided into three groups. Each group symbolizes each process of evolution.[21]

i) Group 1

According to the *Kojiki*, the way the first group appears is as follows: the cosmos starts with chaos and nothingness. After the earth and the heaven separate, the first group of gods appears. The trio of gods, Amë-nö-mi-naka-nusi-nö-kamï, Taka-mi-musubi-nö-kamï and Kamï-musubi-nö-kamï, come out one after another in the heaven called *Takama-nö-para* (meaning 'the Plain of High Heaven'). All these gods are single and invisible.[22] This trio of gods is believed to be supreme and they have the character of creators.

Amë-nö-mi-naka-nusi-nö-kamï seems to be the most supreme god. His name means a master deity who resides in the centre of heaven and who governs heaven and earth. His name indicates his dignity and supremacy. He is the lord of the heaven and the head of all deities.[23] Taka-mi-musubi-nö-kamï and Kamï-musubi-nö-kamï are deities who control the production and creation of all beings since their names indicate 'to produce'.[24] Due to the appearance of these two deities, spirit is brought to the world. Thereby all beings come to have spirit. This is the first step towards creating life forms. The appearance of the first group implies that the heaven and the earth are completed and life is ready to be formed as a result of the appearance of spirit.[25] Amë-nö-mi-naka-

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[20]The names of the deities are spelled following the romanized spelling in *Kojiki* translated by Donald Philippi and published in 1968. Philippi's spellings are recognized as a reconstructed representation of Archaic Japanese which is the earliest recorded example of Japanese .

[21]Ohbayashi, 1973: 20-1.

[22]Chamberlain, 1982: 15; Philippi, 1968: 47; tsugita, 1996: 36-7.

[23]Mizuno, 1996: 78.

[24] Chamberlain, 1982: 15; Philippi, 1968: 47; tsugita, 1996: 36-9.

[25]Mizuno, 1996: 79.

nusi-nö-kamï, Taka-mi-musubi-nö-kamï and Kamï-musubi-nö-kamï, who have similar characteristics to Tāne in Maori myths, are usually described as the prime creators. In the Murihiku version of the myth, Tangaroa comes before Tāne, but he is not the creator. However in some Polynesian myths, such as Samoan myths, Tangaroa is the creator.

ii) Group 2

The second group appears after the first group as follows: two deities appear one after the other when the land is still young like floating oil or drifting jellyfish on the water. First something like *ashi*, a marshland reed-shoot, sprouts from the virgin swampy soil. Then it turns into the deity called Umasi-asi-kabï-piko-di-nö-kamï. After him Amë-nö-tökö-tati-nö-kamï comes likewise from the *ashi*, a reed-shoot.[26] These gods are also single and invisible, and they seem to be male.[27]

Umasi-asi-kabï-piko-di-nö-kamï appears in the space between the heaven and the earth. Similarly in Maori myth the children of Rangi and Papa-tua-nuku are born between them. The idea that deities or human beings are born from the heaven and earth is the same in both myths. The space between the heaven and the earth is like a womb. However heaven and earth are not personified in Japanese myth as in the Maori.

From the expressions, 'floating oil' and 'drifting jellyfish on the water', we can imagine that the land did not yet exist and that endless ocean existed before the land was formed and covered the world.[28]

In the Maori myth too, water or ocean seems to appear before the land of the human world is established.[29] In episode 1) of the story of Tāne water comes first before Tāne creates humans. Water therefore seems to be a source of life

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[26]The botanical name is Phragmites communis.

[27]Chamberlain, 1982: 15; Philippi; 1968: 47; tsugita, 1996: 36-7.

[28]Mizuno, 1996: 79.

[29]Beattie, 1939: 24.

in both Maori and Japanese myth.

The distinctive characteristic of this group is that the deities are born from a prime young plant like a reed. The reed *ashi* grows very fast, about fifteen centimetres a day. The ancient Japanese therefore believed that this reed had supernatural powers. *Ashi* grows out of water, from which life is created; it symbolises the creation of life.[30] Regarded as a plant which grows vigorously, it is depicted as a cosmogonal plant in the Japanese myth, in which the reed becomes the god who resides in the centre of the heaven.[31] The idea that gods or human beings appear from a plant or a tree which is described as the cosmogonal tree is widely seen in Polynesia and South East Asia.[32] It is regarded as relatively ancient.

The reed *ashi* is part of the name of Umasi-asi-kabï-piko-di-nö-kamï, who symbolises life and growth. According to some interpretations, Umasi-asi-kabï-piko-di-nö-kamï through the vigorous growth of the reed, pushes up the heaven and separates heaven and earth which had been clinging together. In this interpretation, Umasi-asi-kabï-piko-di-nö-kamï has similar characteristics to Tāne. Like Tāne, he seems to be a personification of all plants and trees.[33] Tāne is the creator of human beings, and both deities deal with life. Tāne appears after heaven and earth, and separates them. There are clear similarities between Tāne and Umasi-asi-kabï-piko-di-nö-kamï.[34] Tāne pushes the sky up with a pole in some versions.[35] Since Umasi-asi-kabï-piko-di-nö-kamï seems to be a personification of reeds, the sky is pushed up by a reed. A reed is used like a pole as in the Tāne myth: in both stories an object like a pole is used to separate the heaven and the earth.

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[30]Mizuno, 1996: 79.

[31]Best, 1925: 745; Matsumoto, 1994: 162; Mizuno, 1996: 79; Ohbayashi, 1973:20-6; 44.

[32] Ohbayashi, 1973: 20; 35-7.

[33]Best, 1925: 745; Matsumoto, 1994: 162; Mizuno, 1996: 79; Ohbayashi, 1973:20-6; 44.

[34]Mizuno, 1996: 79.

[35]Beattie, 1990: 25.

Amë-nö-tökö-tachi-nö-kamï is a personification of the eternity of the heaven. The word *tökö-tatï* means 'exist forever'.[36] *Ame* means 'heaven'. Thus the appearance of the deity indicates that the eternal heaven is completed.

The first five deities from Amë-nö-mi-naka-nusi-nö-kamï to Amë-nö-tökö-tachi-nö-kamï are identified as the supreme ones in the heavens and are distinguished from other gods.[37]

iii) Group 3

Kuni-nö-tökö-tachi-nö-kamï appears after Amë-nö-tökö-tachi-nö-kamï. After him Töyö-kumo-no-nö-kamï comes. These two gods are also single and invisible.

Kuni-nö-tökö-tachi-nö-kamï is a personification of the eternity of the nation. *Kuni* means 'land' 'country' or 'nation'. His name is paired with Amë-nö-tökö-tachi-nö-kamï. In this case, *Kuni* means the world of human beings in contrast to the world of gods. Töyö-kumo-no-nö-kamï appears in the space between the heaven and the earth. This name literally means "god of the eternal cloud moor." He is generally believed to be the personification of the process of natural grassland[38] being established.[39] This implies that natural grassland is established permanently in the human world along with the establishment of heaven.[40] Yu Mizuno in *Nihon Shiwa o Minaosu*, however, interprets the name Töyö-kumo-no-nö-kamï as 'the lord of great cloud'.[41] He argues that this deity is the personification of cloud. Either way, the above deities symbolize the establishment of natural phenomena and all life forms before human beings appear.

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[36]Tsugita, 1996: 38-9.

[37]Ibid: 36-9.

[38]*No* generally denotes upland or mountain slopes and unreclaimed natural grassland (Uegaki, 1985, *Fudoki Kenkyu*, I: 69). Close English words include 'moor', 'fell', 'plateau' or 'alpine meadow'.

[39]Tsugita, 1996: 38.

[40]Mizuno, 1996: 79.

[41]Ibid: 80.

(4) Paired deities

Paired deities consist of a female deity and a male deity. They are a husband and wife couple and appear together as one set.

i) The word sister

The word *imo* in Japanese, meaning 'sister', is often added in front of the names of female deities. *Imo* is used as a prefix for a female with whom one has a very close relationship, such as a wife or a sister.[42]

In the Tāne myth the word *tuahine*, meaning 'sister of a male', is also used when Tāne refers to his wife Hina-ata-uira. In both myths the word meaning sister is used to address a wife.

ii) Brief summary

Amë-nö-mi-naka-nusi-nö-kamï, Taka-mi-musubi-nö-kamï and Kamï-musubi-nö-kamï seem to be the deities who can produce beings, including both sexes, and so the appearance of paired deities follows.[43] After Yin and Yang are separated, five pairs of deities appear one by one.

The first pair is U-pidi-ni-nö-kamï, and his spouse Su-pidi-ni-nö-kamï. The male deity U-pidi-ni-nö-kamï is the deification of mud, while the female deity Su-pidi-ni-nö-kamï is the deification of soil.

The next pair is Tuno-gupi-nö-kamï, and his spouse Iku-gupi-nö-kamï. Their names mean respectively 'shaped like a horn' and something like 'a living stake'. We do not really know exactly what they symbolize.[44] Opo-to-nö-di-nö-kamï and his spouse Opo-to-nö-be-nö-kamï come next. Their names mean "big places". Generally these deities are thought to give a place for the effigy

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[42]Ibid: 80; Murakami, 1986: 455-6.

[43]Mizuno, 1996: 80; tsugita, 1996: 36-9; Ujitani, 1996: 16-7.

[44]tsugita, 1996: 38.

to stay.[45] Omö-daru-nö-kamï and his spouse Aya-kasiko-ne-nö-kamï appear next. Omö-daru-nö-kamï symbolizes the completion of the land base. Aya-kasiko-ne-nö-kamï means very "awesome".[46]

However, Mizuno gives a different interpretation for these deities. In his interpretation, the appearance of these paired deities implies the process of the creation of the first female and male deities who become a husband and wife. Since U-pidi-ni-nö-kamï represents clay he has a strong masculine image, while Su-pidi-ni-nö-kamï symbolizes soil which has a soft feminine image. Their appearance thus implies that effigies in the shape of bodies were made of clay and soil. The word 'gupi' in the names of the next pair Tuno-gupi-nö-kamï and his spouse Iku-gupi-nö-kamï implies 'sacred water under the sacred plant'. The male deity inspires the spirit through sacred water to the male effigy to make it masculine, while the female deity gives the female effigy the sacred water which contains the female knowledge of living, such as the knowledge of bringing up offspring as a mother.[47] The appearance of the two deities Opo-to-nö-di-nö-kamï and his spouse Opo-to-nö-be-nö-kamï symbolizes that the effigies are given genitals in order to distinguish their sex. As the last step of the creation of the pair, Omö-daru-nö-kamï and his spouse Aya-kasiko-ne-nö-kamï represent the male effigy being given a masculine face and the female effigy being given a feminine character.

This last pair is Izanagi-nö-kamï and Izanami-nö-kamï. Their names imply inviting or tempting each other. Generally, '*Mï*' is a female suffix, whereas '*Gï*' is a male suffix. However, there is another interpretation that the word '*nagï*' in Izanagi means 'calmness on the sea' and the word '*namï*' in Izanami means 'wave' according to other examples. Therefore, their names may be associated with water. [48]

They are regarded as the completion of the paired deities. Due to the completion

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[45]Mizuno, 1996: 81; tsugita, 1996: 38.

[46]tsugita, 1996: 38.

[47]Mizuno, 1996: 80.

[48]Matsumoto, 1994: 164; tsugita, 1996: 38.

of both sexes, it becomes possible to produce living forms and offspring. Thus the two deities became the creators of the Japanese islands and all beings.[49]

Mizuno's point of view is interesting because the idea that the body is made of mud or soil is the same as the concept in the story of Tāne. In the Tāne myth, the genitals are attached to an effigy made of soil, and Tāne and the Woman Made of Soil, Hine-hā-one, also have a family of human children.[50]

(5) The concept of heaven

All deities who have appeared so far live in heaven, *Takama-nö-para.* They are called Ama-tu-kamï, meaning deities who live in heaven. There is a pair word for this, Kunï-tu-kamï, which means in this context deities who live in the human world and are worshipped in the provinces, making two classes of deities. The ones who live in heaven are more prestigious than the others.

In Maori myth likewise, some deities live in heaven while others live in the human world. Therefore, some deities are regarded as more prestigious than others. There are layers of heaven, and the higher the deities live, the more sacred they are regarded. The most supreme reside in the highest heaven. This point of view is the same as in the Japanese. However, while in some Maori accounts of the heavens there are said to be ten or eleven levels, this idea does not seem to exist in Japanese myth.

(6) Izanagi and Izanami

The story of Izanagi-nö-kamï and Izanami-nö-kamï is quite similar both in *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki.* The male and female deities Izanagi-nö-mikötö and Izanami-nö-mikötö play the major role in the creation story. They create islands and deities who become the ancestors of human beings.

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[49]Chamberlain, 1982: 15; Ohbayashi, 1973: 20-7; Philippi, 1968: 47, tsugita, 1996: 36-7.

[50]The idea of women made of soil, however, also occurs in myths of other cultures.

i) Izanami as the earth mother and Izanagi as the sky father

As Numazawa, Ohbayashi, Matsumoto and other scholars argue, generally Izanami-nö-mikötö and Izanagi-nö-mikötö are believed to have the character of the earth mother and the sky father.[51] This element is the same as in the Maori myth.

First, there are two points which illustrate Izanami-nö-mikötö's character as the earth mother.

The first point is that Izanami-nö-mikötö has control over production of food. The deities who appear from Izanami-nö-mikötö's urine when she is burnt are associated with agricultural products. They are Mitu-pa-no-me-nö-kamï (a female deity who has control over irrigation water), Waku-musubi-nö-kamï (a deity who has control over agricultural products) and Töyö-ukë-bime-nö-kamï (a deity who has control over food).[52] Agricultural products come out of the earth. Therefore Izanami-nö-mikötö has links with the earth. In the Maori myth, Papa-tua-nuku is the earth mother and so plants, trees, cultivated and uncultivated food belong to her. Her role is also producing food for her offspring, which is the same as Izanami-nö-mikötö.[53]

The second point is that she becomes a guardian of the underworld in the end. The underworld is in, or under, the earth, and so she always attaches to the earth. The earth is the place for the dead to be buried. Since the dead are buried, they go back to the earth in which Izanami-nö-mikötö stays.[54] Thus, she looks after human beings as the earth mother in the underworld after her death. Finally Izanami-nö-mikötö lives permanently in the underworld which belongs to the earth.

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[51]Matsumoto, 1994: 165; Mizuno, 1996: 146-8; Numazawa,1952: 5-14; Ohbayashi, 1986: 243-4.

[52]Numazawa,1952: 9; Ohbayashi, 1986: 243-4, Philippi, 1968: 57; tsugita, 1996: 50-5.

[53]Best, 1925: 745; Grey, 1969: 5-11; Orbell, 1995: 133.

[54]Mizuno, 1996: 146-8.

In contrast with Izanami-nö-mikötö, the following episodes imply that Izanagi-nö-mikötö has the character of the sky father. Some elements of Izanagi-nö-mikötö as the sky father are similar to Rangi's in Maori myth.[55] First, when Izanagi-nö-mikötö breathes upon the morning mist which covers the Japanese islands in the beginning, his breath becomes wind.[56] Second, when Izanagi-nö-mikötö cries for losing his wife, his tears become rain drops. Rain belongs to the sky.[57] By comparison, Rangi's tears become dew drops when he separates from Papa-tua-nuku.[58] When Izanagi-nö-mikötö kills the fire deity Kagu-tuti-nö-kamï, his sword becomes thunder. Thunder also comes from the sky. [59]

After Izanagi-nö-mikötö returns from the underworld he produces three children who are associated with the sky. The three children are Ama-terasu-opo-mi-kamï, the great deity of the sun, Tuku-yömi-nö-mikötö, the god of the moon, Paya-susa-nö-wo-nö-mikötö, the god of the sea or the wind-storm. When Izanagi comes back from the underworld separating from Izanagi, he washes his body in order to purify his body. Ama-terasu-opo-mi-kamï appears when he washes his left eye, Tuku-yömi-nö-mikötö comes on his washing his left eye, Paya-susa-nö-wo-nö-mikötö appears on his washing his nose. After Izanagi-nö-mikötö separates from Izanami-nö-mikötö he ascends back to the heaven and lives there permanently.[60]

The above elements indicate that Izanagi-nö-mikötö has the character of the sky father. Thus, Izanagi-nö-mikötö and Izanami-nö-mikötö have respectively similar characteristics to Rangi and Papa-tua-nuku.

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[55]Orbell, 1995: 146-7.

[56]Aston, 1956: 22-3; Ohbayashi, 1986: 243; Ujitani, 1996: 25.

[57]Chamberlain, 1982: 33; Philippi, 1968: 58; Ohbayashi, 1986: 243; tsugita, 1996: 56-7.

[58]Tiramörehu, 1987: 4, 26.

[59]Aston, 1956: 23; Chamberlain, 1982: 35-6; Philippi, 1968: 59; Ohbayashi, 1986: 243; tsugita, 1996: 56-7; Ujitani, 1996: 26.

[60]Philippi, 1968: 68-71; tsugita, 1996: 67-74.

ii) The Heavenly Floating Bridge and the Jewelled Spear

When Izanagi-nö-mikötö and Izanami-nö-mikötö descend to the earth they stand on Amë-nö-uki-pasi, the Heavenly Floating Bridge,[61] which is regarded as an imaginary ladder or pathway uniting heaven and earth for divine beings to travel between the two.[62] In general Amë-nö-uki-pasi is regarded as the rainbow.[63] *Amë* generally means 'heaven' but also indicates the border between the sky and the sea. They lower Amë-nö-nu-bokö, the Heavenly Jewelled spear, which is given by the heavenly deities to make a place for them to land. They stir the brine with the spear. When they lift it up, an island is made of the brine which drips down from the tip of the spear and accumulates there. The island is called Onögörö-jima,[64] meaning 'island constructed on its own'. Izanagi-nö-mikötö and Izanami-nö-mikötö descend to Onögörö-jima. The island becomes their base where the two deities make a marriage vow, and Izanami-nö-mikötö gives birth to the Japanese islands and deities there.[65]

In the Japanese myth, the two deities stir with the spear and make an island from the sea. In Polynesian mythology, a culture hero (usually Māui) hooks lands from the sea.[66] In the Māui myth of Maori mythology, Māui hooks an island from the sea with his grandmother's jaw bone, which becomes the North Island of Aotearoa.[67] Although the Japanese and Polynesian myths are not the same, the idea that an island is created from the sea is the same.[68] In addition, although not a fish hook but a spear is used in the Japanese myth,

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[61]It is also interpreted as a boat or raft, a high ladder, a bridge, a bridge of rainbows, or the Milky Way.

[62]Chadwick, 1930: 430-1; Philippi, 1968: 49; Ohbayashi, 1973: 93; tsugita, 1996: 43.

[63]Chadwick, 1930: 431.

[64]This island is an imaginary island. However, Yuga island in Kaitan Strait is said to be its model. (tsugita, 1996: 43.)

[65] Philippi, 1968: 49-50; tsugita, 1996: 40-4.

[66]Dixson, 1916: 43-4; Kirtley: 1971: 62; Lessa, 1961: 290.

[67] Alpers, 1977; 42-5; 50-7; Alpers(trans by Inoue), 1982: 49-53; 60-70; Grey, 1969: 23-5; 28; 32; Orbell, 199.5: 115; Best, 1925: 939-44; Wohlers, 1874: 12-3; 38-9; Yuihama, 1996: 48, 57-60.

[68]The idea that islands are fished-up by demigod or hero is also found in myths from Hawaii, Tonga, Marquesas, Tuamotu and and etc (Thompson, 1966: 175). The motif that earth brought up from the bottom of primeval water is seen in myths from India, New Britain, New Hebrides (Thompson, 1966: 161).

the spear that the two deities use is thought to be a fishing spear.[69] The reason is that, for example Katari-no-omi-Imaro catches a shark and kills it with a spear in *Izumo Fudoki*[70]. Furthermore, *Kojiki* uses the verb *Shibitsuku*, meaning 'spearing tuna'. Therefore, the fishhook and the spear could be considered as common elements as tools for fishing in both myths.[71]

iii) The similarities between the pole and the spear

In both cosmogony myths the ladder or pillar and the spear as pole-like objects are used to unite one realm to another, forming the Cosmic Axis.[72] In the Maori cosmogony myth, a pillar or a ladder is made to unite the heavens when Tāne creates the ten heavens.[73]

There are other things which link the two realms and provide a pathway. In a Japanese myth in *Harima fudoki*, a stone bridge is used as the pathway to heaven.[74] In Polynesian myths, the rainbow is commonly identified with a means of communication between heaven and the divine ancestors and the earth for gods and heroes to travel.[75] In Maori myths, besides the rainbow, vine, spider web and the *toi*[76] are also described as the path, while the coconut tree also forms the pathway to the sky in the myths of Polynesian islands.[77] This belief that the rainbow is the pathway between the heaven and the earth also occurs in Japanese myths.[78]

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[69]Aoki, 1971: 85; Matsumoto, 1994: 170-3; Ohbayashi, 1973: 72-4

[70]*Izumo Fudoki* is one of the topographies, which was ordered to be compiled by Empress Genmei in 713, about the country of Izumo which is the old name for the present east part of Shimane Prefecture.

[71]Aoki, 1971: 85; Ohbayashi, 1973: 73-4.

[72]Palmer, 1994: 483.

[73]Beattie, 1990: 25.

[74]Akimoto, 1958: 267.

[75]Chadwick, 1930: 430.

[76]*Toi* is thought to be the cosmic Axis. It means 'climbing vine' or ' long slender root' (Williams, 1988: 432). Grey, 1969: 54-5; Tiramōrehu, 1987: 16; 38.

[77]Churchward and Titifanua, 1995: 103.

[78]Chadwick, 1930: 430-1.

iv) Piru-go (leech-child)

Before Izanagi-nö-mikötö and Izanami-nö-mikötö create the islands, they give birth to Piru-go, meaning 'leech-child'. This first offspring is deformed and abandoned.

A brief summary of the plot is as follows:

> After Izanagi-nö-mikötö and Izanami-nö-mikötö descend to Onögörö-jima, they erect Amë-nö-mi-pasira, a heavenly pillar, and Ya-pirö-dönö, a spacious palace which becomes their wedding palace. Izanagi-nö-mikötö finds that his body has one place which is formed to excess, whereas Izanami-nö-mikötö finds that her body has one place which is formed insufficiently. Then the two deities decide to make a marriage vow, walking in a circle around the heavenly pillar, and have conjugal intercourse to complete their bodies. The female deity walks around from the right and the male deity walks around from the left. When they meet they make the vow. The female deity speaks first at their meeting. Although the male deity mentions that it is not right that the woman should speak first, they proceed with the ritual of conjugal intercourse. As a result, they give birth to Piru-go who is deformed. They place Piru-go in a boat made of reeds and send it away on the sea. [79]

This child is not acknowledged as one of their true offspring. After Piru-go, Apa Shima is born. However, this child is also not regarded as their child. In one version of *Nihon shoki*, Apa Shima is their first child and handicapped.

Piru-go, the leech-child, is generally regarded as a child who is unable to stand upright even at the age of three years, lacking arms and legs, like a

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[79]Philippi, 1968: 50-1; tsugita, 1996: 40-4.

leech.[80] However, there is another interpretation for Piru-go. Piru-go may also be interpreted as the counterpart of piru-me, 'sun-maiden', 'sun lad' or 'sun child'. A leech-child seems to fit the story rather than a sun child, because the way he is treated suggests that the child is deformed. If Piru-go were a sun child, the child probably would not have been treated like that.

There are some elements in the story of Izanagi-nö-mikötö and Izanami-nö-mikötö which are very similar to those in the Maori creation myth.

A. Premature / handicapped babies

The first element is the appearance and treatment of handicapped babies or premature babies in both myths. As Matsumoto and others point out, a similar episode is seen in the story of Māui.[81]

> Māui is the youngest child of his parents, and is born prematurely. In the North island version of the myth, Māui's mother swaddles him in her skirt or kilt and throws him into the sea. In Maori belief premature babies are supposed to be buried carefully, being given a special ceremony and incantations when they die.[82] In the South Island version Māui apparently grows from his mother's *maro*[83], which is (among other things) a pad of moss worn by women who are menstruating. Māui's mother has a miscarriage, so the unborn foetus is collected in her *maro*. She throws her *maro* into a thorn bush. Mu and Weka found the *maro*, wrapped it in rags, and raised it to be a human being.[84]

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[80]Aston, 1956: 19; tsugita, 1996: 43; Ujitani, 1996: 24.

[81]Matsumoto, 1994: 178.

[82]Grey, 1969: 13-4; Inoue, 1982: 31-3; Wohlers, 1874: 10-1; Yuihama, 1996: 36.

[83]Maro is a sort of kilt or apron worn by males and females (Williams, 1988: 183).

[84]Wohlers, 1874: 10-1. Wohlers says that the baby was born as "a shapeless lump", but this is not what the original Maori says. Wohlers was probably too embarrassed (or thought his readers would be) to translate it literally.

The idea of deformity does not exactly come into it, though obviously a foetus is not a complete human being. And in Polynesian versions of this myth, Māui is often deformed — he has a torn eye or eight heads etc.[85]

Handicapped children seem to be a sign of ill luck in both Japanese and Maori stories. The idea that the Maori swaddle the baby before abandoning it is also similar in the Japanese myth. In the Japanese story, Piru-go is wrapped in a bunch of reeds while Māui is wrapped in a skirt or a rag. In the North Island version and in the Japanese story both babies are cast into the water. The Japanese myth could be a reflection of the ancient custom of water burial. It is believed that before interment was introduced, water burial existed. It is surmised that in the ritual the dead were placed in a canoe and holes made at the bottom in order to sink it. The custom of *Miyoshinagashi*[86] may have been the vestige of a water burial ritual. Coffins shaped like canoes, which are described in *Izumo fudoki*, have been excavated from ancient burial sites. Canoe-shaped coffins were not only used for water burial. However, in the story in the reign of Emperor Jimmu in *Kojiki*, canoes are used as a means of transport for deities or spirits to ascend to heaven. Canoes are also drawn or carved on the walls of ancient tumuli. This suggests that the origin of canoe shaped coffins can be traced back to the ancient water burial ritual in which corpses were placed in a canoe to be sent to the spiritual world.[87]

In Maori traditon too, canoes were associated with the journey of the soul after death. They were described as conveyances for souls of the dead. In one story, Whiro is illustrated as a source of evil, who introduced murder, cannibalism, adultery, theft, lying and such. He carries people off to their death and takes them to the underworld, his canoe providing a means of transport for souls of the dead. Among some tribes, canoes were used at or after funerals. The deceased was placed in a small canoe, and a miniature of a canoe might be placed in the cave where the bones were finally laid to rest.[88] Furthermore,

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[85]Kirtley, 1971: 34-5.

[86]This is a rite which worships the soul of the great goddess of Tsushima.

[87]Gorai, 1992: 91, 292-4; tsugita, 1996: 44.

[88]Orbell, 1995: 248-9.

according to the evidence of nineteenth-century observers, the deceased was suspended temporarily in a tree encased in a canoe until the corpse had putrified.[89]

B. The reason for the deformed children

There seem to be two possible reasons for the deformity of the child in the Japanese myth. The connection between the deformed children and the behaviour of the parents is not made explicit, but is implied.

a) Failure to recognise male priority

One implied reason why the child is disabled is that the female deity speaks first when they exchanged marriage vows.[90] The male deity is the one who is supposed to speak first. As the parents fail in the ritual, the child comes out being deformed. Thus the parents reject the unworthy child. The time when the Japanese myth was created was possibly based on an androcentric society.[91]

This male preferential idea is also seen in the ancient Maori society.[92] In ancient Maori belief, males are *tapu* (sacred and forbidden), whereas females are *noa* (free from tapu). Generally, males were more prestigious than females. The roles of males and females were clearly distinguished. Males' roles were mainly works involving strenuous labour such as hunting, fishing, planting, making canoes, tattooing and performing of rites, whereas females' roles were household tasks including cooking, weaving, craftworks and nursing children. Their marriage system was polygamy.[93] Thus, males were accorded superiority.[94]

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[89]Oppenheim, 1973: 60-1; Taylor: 1870: 99-100.

[90]Chamberlain, 1982: 20-2; Matsumoto, 1994: 175-7; Ohbayashi, 1973: 78; Philippi, 1968: 51-2; tsugita, 1996: 40-7; Ujitani, 1996: 18-21; 23-4.

[91]This idea may be ancient, or it may have been influenced by the Chinese belief in *Fushofuzui* which states that a husband should speak first and his wife should follow what her husband says (tsugita, 1996: 44).

[92]Matsumoto, 1994: 176-7.

[93]Firth, 1959: 207; Heuer, 1972: 17-8.

[94]Orbell, 1995: 115.

b) Committing incest

It was believed that all misfortunes originated with the disobeying of a law. Some scholars have pointed out that Izanagi-nö-mikötö and Izanami-nö-mikötö are originally brother and sister, and that they had Piru-go because they commited incest.[95] Incest seems to have been taboo in the contemporary society. There are some other myths in which an incestuous brother-sister union seems to be involved. The children of Izanagi-nö-mikötö and Izanami-nö-mikötö, Amaterasu-opo-mi-kamī, the great deity of the sun and Paya-susa-nö-wo-nö-mikötö, the god of the sea or the wind, commit incest. They are brother and sister. They produce offspring in order to test Paya-susa-nö-wo-nö-mikötö's sincerity.[96] An incestuous brother-sister union is frequently found in myths from Southeast Asia, Central India, and other Asian regions.[97]

This concept of incest is also seen in Maori myths. In the story of Tāne, Tāne and his daughter Hine-ata-uira commit incest and the names of some of their children mean destruction and death. However, it is not stated that the children are physically deformed.

There are some Maori expressions which denote that incest is a sin. The expressions 'Ngau whiore' and 'Kai whiore' mean 'tail biting'. These expressions imply that a person who commits incest is deemed to be a dog that turns and bites its own tail.[98] The expression originates from the story of Māui in which Māui transforms his brother-in-law Irawaru into a dog. According to some accounts, the reason that Māui transforms Irawaru into a dog is something to do with incest.[99] In the traditional Maori society incest was proscribed, although three generations from a common ancestor were free to marry. Sibling and

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[95]Matsumoto, 1994: 177; Murakami, 1986: 455-63; tsugita, 1996: 44.

[96]Aston, 1956: 34-40; Murakami, 1986: 457; Philippi, 1968: 76-8; tsugita, 1996: 80-90; Ujitani, 1996: 34-9.

[97]Murakami, 1986: 455.

[98]Best, 1925: 939.

[99]Ibid; Grey, 1969: 38-42; Wohlers, 1874: 14; 38-9.

first cousin or second cousin marriages were considered to be incestuous.[100]

In the case of Rangi and Papa-tua-nuku, their first lot of children are deformed. Although Papa-tua-nuku is Takaroa's wife, and Takaroa and Rangi are related, this does not seem to constitute incest. His sin is adultery. Rangi's wound in the fight with Takaroa seems to cause the children to be born deformed.

The theme of failure preceding success is often seen in other myths about the first woman and the man such as in the stories of Sargon, Moses, Perseus, and others.[101] Many Maori myths have failure or partial failures to begin with: - a creator tries and does not quite succeed at first. This is a way of explaining imperfection in the world. In both the Japanese and the Maori myths, the first children are born deformed, but the children born later are normal and can perform great deeds.

v) The creation of death

Summary of the Japanese myth

> After Izanagi-nö-mikötö and Izanagi-nö-mikötö copulate, the female deity Izanami-nö-mikötö gives birth to the islands and deities one after another. She goes to the underworld after her death caused by getting burnt when she gives birth to the fire deity Kagu-tui-nö-kamï. Izanagi-nö-mikötö, the male deity, cannot get over his loneliness without Izanami-nö-mikötö, so he follows her to the underworld to get her back. However, he fails. Izanagi-nö-mikötö is told that he is too late to come and get her since Izanami has already eaten food in the underworld. However, she tells him that she can go back with him if he accepts her request. Izanami-nö-mikötö asks Izanagi-nö-mikötö not to look at her while she discusses with the gods in the underworld.

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[100]Biggs, 1970: 23-4.

[101]Philippi, 1968: 399.

Since he has to wait so long he cannot stand it. He breaks his promise and looks at her. He breaks off a piece of the end teeth of the sacred comb which he is wearing in his hair and lights a fire to look at his wife. As her beautiful features are completely changed he becomes terrified of her dreadful appearance. Her corpse is covered over with filthy maggots. Izanagi-nö-mikötö is terribly afraid of her and runs away. Izanami-nö-mikötö follows Izanagi-nö-mikötö in anger. She sends the hags of the underworld, Yömö-tu-sikömе, to pursue Izanagi-nö-mikötö. Then Izanagi-nö-mikötö takes off the black vine securing his hair and throws it as he flees. The vine bears grapes. While the hags are busy eating the grapes he runs off. The hags still pursue him. Next, he takes out the comb he is wearing in his right hair-bunch and throws it. Bamboo shoots sprout forth from it. While the hags are eating them he flees. Then the eight thunder-deities and a horde of warriors of the underworld pursue him. Izanagi-nö-mikötö runs away waving the sword ten hands long which he is wearing at his side. However they still pursue him. When they reach the foot of the pass Yömö-tu-pira-saka, which is the border between this world and the underworld, Izanagi-nö-mikötö throws three peaches which are there. His pursuers all make off. As Izanagi-nö-mikötö is saved by these peaches, he asks the peaches to save all the people in the Japanese islands when they fall into pain and suffer in anguish. He gives the peaches the name of a deity Opo-kamu-du-mi-nö-mikötö, meaning 'spirit of the great deity'. At last Izanami herself pursues him. Izanagi-nö-mikötö places the huge rock Ti-biki-nö-ipa[102] at Yömö-tu-pira-saka. They exchange their last words, when they part facing each other at Ti-biki-nö-ipa. Izanami-nö-mikötö tells her husband that she will kill 1000 humans a day, and then Izanagi-nö-mikötö tells Izanami-

[102]In ancient Japanese belief, rocks block evil spirits.

nö-mikötö that he will produce 1500 humans a day.[103]

In both Maori and Japanese lore, death is created by the separation of two deities, a husband and a wife.[104]

vi) The birth of Kagu-tuti

As mentioned earlier, the god of fire Kagu-tuti burns Izanami-nö-mikötö and so she dies from the injury.[105] There is a similar concept in Maori myth. In the North Island version of the cosmogony myth, Rūaumoko, the son of Rangi and Papa-tua-nuku, has similar characteristics to Kagu-tuti. Rūaumoko is a personification of earthquakes or volcanos. When Tāne separates his parents, Rūaumoko is still in the womb of Papa-tua-nuku. Therefore he remains inside the earth. Whenever he is active inside Papa-tua-nuku, earthquakes and volcanic activities break out. Although Papa-tua-nuku does not die because of Rūaumoko, his actions certainly bother and hurt her. Rūaumoko is also related to death in some accounts. He takes Hine-nui-te-pō, who is a guardian of the underworld, as his wife.[106] As Kagu-tuti is the cause of Izanami-nö-mikötö's death, both Rūaumoko and Kagu-tuti are associated with death and fire (volcanos are a kind of fire).

vii) Women become the first victims of death and become controllers of the underworld

The females go to the underworld. Therefore the first death was suffered by a woman, and as a result a woman becomes the guardian of the underworld.[107]

Like Hine-ata-uira, Izanami-nö-mikötö stays in the underworld and governs it.

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[103]Aston, 1956: 21-6; Chadwick, 1930: 431-2; Philippi, 1968: 56-67; Ujitani, 1996: 24-8, tsugita, 1996: 53-64.

[104]Matsumoto, 1994: 193.

[105]Philippi, 1968: 57-8; Orbell, 1995: 163; tsugita, 1996: 50-55.

[106]Orbell, 1995: 163.

[107]Inoue, 1971: 58; Kakubayashi, 1996; 7-8; Matsumae, 144; 1970: Matsumoto, 1994: 193; Ohbayashi, 1972: 176; Yoshida, 1974: 17-9.

In general females are associated with darkness in Maori and Polynesian mythology. A personification of thunder, Whaitiri, is a blind woman who lives in the sky and sits in darkness. According to some accounts, she relates to the ages of darkness that arose before the world was shaped.[108]

Women seem to represent darkness, controlling the death of human beings. On the other hand, the males are creators of human beings. Tāne creates the first human. Izanagi-nö-mikötö vows to create more humans than Izanami-nö-mikötö can kill.

viii) The reason for going to the underworld

One difference is that death is created by an act of primal disobedience of "a natural law" made by the male deity in the Maori story, while death originates with injury of the female deity in the Japanese story.[109]

In the Tāne myth, Hine-ata-uira flees to the underworld because she finds that she has committed incest. As I mentioned before, from the Maori point of view incest is taboo, so Tāne ends up losing his wife. Hine-ata-uira goes to the underworld willingly. However, Izanami does not go to the underworld willingly. She is sent there because she is dead rather than being willing to go there. However, the separation of two deities becomes the origin of death in both myths.[110]

ix) Males follow the wives, go to the underworld and fail to bring back the wives to the world

In both myths, the acts which have been committed by the male deities trigger failure. The male deities do something which breaks a promise or a rule of morality.

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[108]Orbell, 1995: 241-3.

[109]Oppenheim, 1973: 89-92.

[110]Matsumoto, 1994: 193.

In the Japanese myth, Izanagi-nö-mikötö breaks his promise to Izanami-nö-mikötö and looks at her body. The act of looking at the corpse may be related to the ancient Japanese custom of double-burial. In the primary burial, or *mogari*, a magico-religious funeral rite was held in which the families of the dead constructed a hut called a *mogari* close to their houses and kept the corpse there. The family and close relatives probably went to view the corpses of the dead every day until they became putrid. This inspecting period is also called *mogari* and it lasted for several months. In some cases it was up to three years. Once the corpse had putrified, it was permanently buried. This rite implies a way of praying for the rebirth of the dead.[111]

There was a custom of double-burial among Maori people of high rank, which involved *hahu* or *hahunga* (exhumation)[112] rituals. The body was buried for a period until it was decayed, then exhumed. The bones were then scraped and coated with red ochre, and exhibited to relations and the wider public for a short time. In some cases one or two wives strangled themselves, and some slaves were killed to accompany the deceased person to the other world. Sometimes, the chief's wife would cut off his head, dry it and sleep with it by her side. The corpse was finally hidden in a sacred place, such as natural caves.[113] In some cases, the corpse was laid on a platform in a first disposal, until the corpse had putrified. Wives of the dead remained with the corpse. Later, the bones were cleaned and redeposited in a sacred place. In the North Island, inhumation in houses was practiced. For instance, first the corpse of a chief was placed in a coffin or a chest until it decayed. Then it was buried in the corner of a house verandah. The chief's wife slept on the grave to show her fidelity.[114] These rituals show similarities to Japanese *mogari*.

In the Maori myth, Tāne commits incest. Thus, both males have been punished and lose their spouses in the end.

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[111]Gorai, 1992: 9-10; Murakami, 1986: 456-7; tsugita, 1996: 66.

[112]*Hahu* or *hāhunga* is the practice of disterring and scraping the bones after the flesh has decomposed. After this they are buried again in some way.

[113]Best, 1976: 377-9; Salmond, 1976: 193; Shortland, 1856: 145-50.

[114]Oppenheim, 1973: 60-2.

The wives, Hine-ata-uira and Izanami-nö-mikötö, go to the underworld and their respective husbands, Tāne and Izanagi-nö-mikötö, follow them to try to bring them back. The motif of the visit to the underworld is quite common in Polynesian myths. For example, the famous hero, Tāwhaki, journeys to the underworld to seek his father Hema, and Māui goes to the underworld to look for his parents.[115] It is also a feature of other mythologies.[116]

x) Yömö-tu-pegupi, eating food in the underworld

In the Japanese myth, *Yömö-tu-pegupi* means 'eating food which is cooked in the pots of the underworld'. Once people eat food which is cooked in the pots in the underworld they belong to the members of the underworld and are unable to revive or come back to the human world.[117] This may be part of a widespread human belief that sharing a meal makes one, as it were, part of the family or group. A person who has eaten food with others can expect their protection, and in turn will support their interests.

The custom of *Yömö-tu-pegupi* is associated with the rites of joining an association. When someone enters a family as a adopted child (son or daughter) that person has a meal with the family she or he is going to join. By sharing the same food with a family or a group, a person can form a close bond with society. Therefore, that person becomes a new member of the group.[118] In the same way a person who has eaten the food of the dead becomes part of the society of dead souls. Examples of this belief are found in other mythologies from China, North America and elsewhere.[119]

In Maori mythology, the belief that a person can return to the human world

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[115]Chadwick, 1930; Grey, 1969: 20-1.

[116]Yoshida, 1974: 16-25.

[117]Chadwick, 1930: 432; Inoue, 1971: 64-5; Matsumoto, 1994: 189-90; Ohbayashi, 1973: 97-9.

[118]Asakura, 1992: 459; Matsumoto, 1994: 190, tsugita, 1996: 66. Miniature stoves with pots were excavated in the tumuli of the late period of ancient burial mounds around the centre of the Kinki area. It is surmised that they were prepared for cooking the food in the underworld for the dead (Ohbayashi, 1973: 97).

[119]Yoshida, 1974: 25.

only if that person has not eaten or drunk in the abode of the dead is also found.[120] The following Maori stories tell about the rule of food in the underworld.

The story of Pare and Hutu (The Girl Brought Back from the Underworld)

> A high-born young woman called Pare is attracted to a married man, Hutu, who is skilful at throwing darts. She tells him that she wants him. However she is rejected by Hutu because he already has a wife and children. Pare committs suicide and flees to the underworld. Pare's people expect Hutu to die to recompense for her death. However, Hutu makes a journey to the underworld in order to bring her spirit back and revive her. Hutu succeeds in his mission. At the pathway between the human world and the underworld he meets the guardian of the underworld Hine-nui-te-pō. Hutu gives her his greenstone and so she explains about the rule of eating food in the underworld. She prepares food for Hutu before he reaches the underworld and advises him that he should eat this food in the underworld and that he should eat it little by little, so that it will last while he is there. She warns Hutu that he will be unable to come back to the human world if he eats the food in the underworld.[121]

The second story is the tale of Peke-tahi. In the story a human girl, Pare-kawa, goes to the underworld. When she is served food, a chief called Peke-tahi tells her not to eat the food there because she would not be able to return to the human world.[122]

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[120]As Matsumoto and others point out, this kind of rule is also seen in some Maori stories (Chadwick, 1930: 432; Inoue, 1971: 64-5; Matsumoto, 1994: 189-90; Ohbayashi, 1973: 97-9; Orbell, 1968: 2-7).

[121]Orbell, 1968: 2-7; Orbell, 1992: 66-71. According to the Maori text, the food is prepared by Hine-nui-te-Pō in this world (Orbell, 1968: 4; Orbell, 1992: 68). Eimei Inoue misinterpreted the story and thought that a person could still return to this world as long as that person ate the food in the underworld little by little without finishing it (Inoue, 1971: 64-5). But the idea is the same as that in the Japanese myth.

[122]Orbell, 1992: 50-1.

The third story is the tale of Mataora, which explains the origin of tattooing and weaving. When Mataora and his wife come back from the underworld, they bring with them the knowledge of tattooing and weaving. In this story too, the food which the dead eat in the underworld is clearly distinguished from the food of this world. The people of the underworld eat only raw food, whereas living humans eat cooked food.[123]

Edward Shortland also tells what is supposed to be the true story of a Maori woman who was brought back to life, and who told of her stay in the land of spirits where she met her late father, who told her that if she ate food there she would never return to life.[124]

Therefore, it is clear that eating food prepared in the underworld creates a link between people and the underworld: this idea is exactly the same in both Japanese and Maori myths.

xi) Throwing things when Izanagi -nö-mikötö is pursued

This kind of plot is widely seen in stories from Europe, northern and western Asia, North America and South Africa. When a hero is pursued by evil beings or monsters, he throws something to escape from his pursuers. Objects which are thrown are mainly stones, combs and water.[125]

In the Japanese story, Izanagi-nö-mikötö first throws a black vine securing his hair. The black vine is made into a ring shape and worn as a hair ornament. It was believed to save one's life and protect one from evils, and so people wore it as a charm. Izanagi throws peaches against the hags. In ancient Chinese belief, peach trees turn evil spirits away.[126]

This motif is not present in the story of Täne. Hine-ata-uira allows her husband

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[123]Inoue, 1971: 65; Matsumoto, 1994: 190.

[124]Shortland, 1856: 150-2.

[125]Ohbayashi, 1973: 100-2.; tsugita, 1996: 66.

[126]Asakura, 1992: 259, Eberhard, 1983: 227-8; Minzoku Jiten, 602.

to go back to the world without chasing him. However, this motif does appear in Polynesian mythology.[127] Heroes or heroines throw obstacles in order to elude their pursuers, although these obstacles are not combs or peaches.[128]

In the Maori myth of Tama, Tama throws ashes to darken the water, and wood boards at the monsters and dangers of the deep who are chasing him. While they are occupied with these obstacles Tama escapes.[129]

In the story of the woman who was brought back to life, mentioned above, she throws *kūmara* (sweet potato) roots at two infant spirits of the underworld who are chasing her. She escapes while one of her pursuers is eating it, and she throws another root at the head of the other pursuer when he tries to seize her.[130]

xii) The farewells exchanged by the two deities

The words exchanged between the two deities upon their separation are very similar in the two myths. At the time of separation, the female deities tell their spouses that they will be the one to drag human beings to the underworld. The male deities both state that they will stay in the human world and control the production of human beings or bring up human beings. Therefore, the roles of female and male are the same in both stories.

xiii) Changing the names of the female deities

Izanami-nö-mikötö changes her name, to Yömö-tu-opo-kamï, meaning 'the great goddess of the underworld' or 'the great goddess of the dark world' as Yömö means 'night', 'darkness' or 'the realm of the dead', 'the underworld'Hina-ata-uira also changes her name to Hine-nui-te-pō when she becomes the guardian of the underworld. *Pō* means 'night' or 'darkness', but it can also

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[127]Kirtley, 1971: 442-3.

[128]Chadwick, 1930: 432.

[129]Tremewan, 1992: 478; Wohlers, 1874: 115.

[130]Shortland, 1856: 153-4.

mean 'the realm of the dead', 'the underworld'. Hine-nui-te-pō means 'great woman of the night' or 'great woman of the underworld'. In both the Japanese and Maori myths the names have the same meaning and the changing of the names indicates that both females become gods of death. In both mythologies names generally describe events which are taking place.[131]

xiv) The birth of the sun, moon, stars and storm

As I mentioned earlier, in the Japanese myth, the deity of the sun Ama-terasu-opo-mikamï, the deity of the moon, Tuku-yömi-nö-mikötö, and the deity of the sea or the wind-storm, Paya-susa-nö-wo-nö-mikötö are created by Izanagi-nö-mikötö after his return from the underworld. Ama-terasu-opo-mikamï, the Sun, emerges when he washes his left eye, whereas Tuku-yömi-nö-mikötö, the Moon, comes into existence when he washes his right eye. Then Paya-susa-nö-wo-nö-mikötö, Thunder / Storms, appears when he washes his nose.

In the Tāne myth, stars are collected by Tāne after his return from the underworld. Thus, in both the myths the male deities create the celestial bodies after their return from the underworld.[132]

The concept that the sun and moon are made by deities and relate to eyes is also seen in Polynesia. In Maori myth, the sun and the moon are generally identified as Rangi's offspring and located for eyes in the sky. One account tells that the sun is the eye of Māui and the Moon is the eye of his brother.[133]

In both Japanese and Polynesian literature, the moon associates with life-giving water. According to *Man'yōshū* [134] which is a collection of old Japanese poems, the moon produces drops of the life-giving stream. In Tongan tradition, the

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[131]Philippi, 1968: 66; tsugita, 1996: 60-4.

[132]Philippi, 1968: 68-70; Matsumoto, 1994: 179; tsugita, 1996: 69-74; Tiramōrehu, 1987: 7-8; 29-30.

[133]Dixon, 1916: 37; 314 (Footnote 98); Matsumoto, 1994: 179; Smith, 1913: 137; White, 1886, I : 49.

[134]The word *Man'yōshū* means 'Collection of a Myriad Leaves'. The poems were versed by various authers of various periods. The most important ones are believed to belong to the latter part of the seventh and the beginning of the eighth century. The present form is considered to have been compiled in the eighth century (Chadwick, 1930: 427).

expression of 'Hina's (Hina is the name for the moon) water of life', is seen. Throughout Polynesia, a similar expression, 'life-giving waters of Tāne' (Tāne is a creator of the stars), is also seen.[135]

The Japanese deity of the rain-storm, Paya-susa-nö-wo-nö-mikötö, has characteristics in common with the Maori deity of the wind-storm, Tāwhiri-matea, or the prominent hero, Tāwhaki, who associates with the winds in Maori myth. According to the tradition of the Izumo School, Paya-susa-nö-wo-nö-mikötö is identified with the divine ancestor of Japanese emperors, while Tāwhiri-matea is also a son of Rangi and Papa-tua-nuku who are the prime parents of all deities.[136] Both Paya-susa-nö-wo-nö-mikötö and Tāwhiri-matea are associated with storms and have violent characters. Haya-Susa-no-wo bothers his sister Ama-terasu-opo-mikamï, behaving in a violent manner when he visits her in the heaven.[137] Similarly, Tāwhiri-matea attacks his brothers one by one after Tāne separates their parents, since Tāwhiri-matea disagrees with the separation of his parents.[138]

xv) The number eight

Throughout Japanese mythology, the number eight is given great significance. It is regarded as a sacred number which implies 'a large number'.[139] For instance, the Japanese islands which were created by Izanagi-nö-mikötö and Izanami-nö-mikötö are called Ōyashima which contains the word 'ya', meaning eight.[140] The 'ya' in Ya-pirö-dönö, a spacious palace where Izanami-nö-mikötö and Izanagi-nö-mikötö made their marriage vow, also means 'eight'. In the myth of the White Rabbit of Inaba, the hero Opo-kuni-nusi-nö-mikötö has eighty brothers.[141] Commentators have suggested that this is a belief imported from China.

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[135]Chadwick, 1930: 431.

[136]Best, 1925: 777; 885-6; Chadwick, 1930: 430; tsugita, 1996: 74.

[137]Aston, 1956: 40-9; Philippi, 1968: 79-80; tsugita, 1996: 86-90; Ujitani, 1996: 39-430.

[138]Grey, 1969: 2-8.

[139]tsugita, 1996: 43.

[140]Matsumoto, 1994: tsugita, 1996: 45-9.

[141]Philippi, 1968: 50-4; 93; tsugita, 1996: 40-9; 109-12.

However, the number eight has significance in Polynesia too. For instance, in the story of Māui, *waru*, meaning 'eight' in Maori, appears in the name of Māui's brother-in-law Irawaru.[142] Kirtley gives a large section on the importance of the number night in Polynesia.[143] Therefore, the significance of the number eight may be something which originated in Southeast Asia. However, further investigation is needed.

3. Conclusion

Throughout the above comparison between the two cosmogony myths, numerous common elements are found. As far as Eliade's *true stories* is concerned, the similarity between Japanese and Polynesian mythologies does not seem to be a coincidence. In the next Chapter, a comparative study on the other type of myth, termed *false stories* by Eliade, is presented, which further investigates the link between the two mythologies.[144]

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[142]Grey, 1969: 38-41; Wohlers, 1874:14; 40.

[143]Kirtley, 1971: 481.

[144]Eliade, 1963: 8-9.

Chapter V. A Samoan Trickster Myth: the story of the Octopus and the Rat

1. Introduction to the story

(1) Choice of myth

There are three reasons for choosing the story of the Octopus and the Rat. First, the story of the Octopus and the Rat is a fable and it belongs to Eliade's category of *false stories*.[1]

Second, Polynesian fables are not well known, and they have not been translated into Japanese as far as the author knows. Various versions of the story of the Octopus and the Rat are seen in Polynesia and Melanesia. Thus introducing Polynesian fables is important.

Third, it has been suggested that trickster fables similar to the story of the White Rabbit of Inaba (or " Opo-kuni-nusi cures the Rabbit and wins Ya-gami-Pime") hardly occur in Polynesian mythology.[2] Therefore I choose the story of the Octopus and the Rat which shares a number of common elements with this story in Japanese mythology. Similar stories are also seen in Southeast Asia.

Therefore, it would be helpful to introduce the story of the Octopus and the Rat, in order to make a link between the mythologies of Polynesia, Southeast Asia and Japan .

(2) Background to the version of the story

This is a well-known tale in Samoa and other regions of the Pacific Islands.

This version of the story was reported to me in Christchurch on 5 June 1997

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[1]Eliade, 1963: 8-11.

[2]Kakubayashi, 1996-a: 39.

by a native Samoan lady, Teta Pa'ō-Sopo'aga, who is from a village called LufiLufi in Western Samoa. LufiLufi is two districts away from the main capital of Western Samoa, Apia. The story of 'The Octopus and the Rat: Ole Fee ma le Isumu' is one of her favorite stories told to her by her maternal grandmother when she was a little girl in 1958. Pa'ō-Sopo'aga also explained to me that inside of the octopus's head there is a black spot and that is a delicacy. Samoans eat the black spot with coconut cream.

2. Translations

(1) English translation

A long time ago there lived these two friends, one was an octopus, one was a rat. They always played around on the sandy shore.

Then one day they really wanted to go to the other side of the island. And then the octopus said to the rat, 'Hey, let's swim to the other side of this island.' After all they both can swim.

The rat said, 'I'll think about it.' And then the octopus said, 'If you are so tired, then I will be able to carry you on my head.'

Oh, this was really what the rat was expecting, for his friend to carry him. What a friend, eh!

At the end of this conversation the rat agreed.

'All right. Not a problem. I'll sit on your head. And you will carry me from here to that place over there.'

And so they began their trip, a journey in the sea, in its current.

The rat was sitting nicely on the head of the octopus. Because it was a long way, the rat was feeling like doing his business by means of looking for a toilet. 'And yet, if I am going to do it in the sea, maybe the current will be too

dangerous for me.'

He looked everywhere, but there was no place.

Then he thought to himself, 'Ummm. It is your choice. You will carry me on the top of your head. Well, let's see. What a nice place to do my business!'

And he used his friend the octopus's head as a toilet.

They reached the shore at the other end of the island. And the octopus said, 'Eh, Rat! Now, we arrived safely. Now come on, you go because you can go to the land. I cannot go on to the land. You do the hunting for the food.'

This little rat hopped on to the land and looked around. He was dancing around. And the octopus was asking, 'Why are you dancing? You are not like that. But how come you are dancing now?'

And the rat said, 'Eh, Octopus! How about touching your head. And see and feel what is on the top of your head.'

The poor octopus lifted one of his tentacles, pulled it down, looked at it, and said, 'Eh, rat. This is not nice.'

But the rat was further away. And the octopus could hardly reach where the rat was crawling, running and dancing to.

And so nowadays when we catch an octopus we use it as bait. We use one of the shells called 'Pule' which look like a rat's head. And to this day, every time you put that bait into the sea to catch octopus, the octopus will jump up and grab it with its eight tentacles, thinking, 'Ok, rat. I will get you for what you did to my head'. When you bring the octopus up to take it ashore, you will see that it changes colour. And it changes to a brown colour, the colour of what the rat did on the octopus's head. So that is the story in English.

(2) Japanese Translation

むかしむかし、あるところに一匹のタコと一匹のネズミが住んでおりました。このタコとネズミは大親友でした。二人はいつも一緒に砂辺のあたりで遊んでおりました。

ある日、二人はどうしても島の向こう岸のほうまで行ってみたくなりました。

そして、タコはネズミに言いました。「ねえ、向こう岸まで泳いでみようじゃないか。」彼等二人ともおよげました。

ネズミは言いました。「僕は、ちょっと考えておくよ。」そこで、タコは言いました。「もし君が疲れたなら、ぼくが君を僕の頭の上に乗せて運んであげるよ。」

これは正にネズミが期待していたことでした。友達に運んでもらいたいと。何という友達でしょう。

話しの終りに、ネズミはタコに同意しました。

「いいよ。問題ないよ。僕は君の頭の上にすわるよ。そして、君は僕をここからむこうのほうまで運んでおくれよ。」

そして、かれらは、海の旅を、潮の流れのなかを行く旅をはじめました。

ネズミはおとなしくタコの頭に座っていました。それは、長旅でしたから、ネズミは用をたしたくなりました。つまり、排便するところを捜しました。

「でも、もしぼくが海のなかでやったら、たぶん潮の流れがあぶないだろうな。」

ネズミは辺りをすべて見渡しましたが、場所がありません。

そこで、彼は、ふと思いつきました。「うーん。僕を頭のうえで運ぶとタコが決めたこと何だ。ふーん。用を足すにはなんていい場所なんだ。」

そして、ネズミは友達のタコの頭を用を足すのに使いました。

彼等は島の向こう岸の海岸に辿り着きました。

タコはいいました。「さあ、無事に着いたよ。さあ、お行きよ。君は陸にいけるんだから。僕は陸には行けないんだ。君が食べ物を捜しにお行きよ。」

この小さなネズミは陸の上に飛び降り、辺りを見渡しました。踊りまわっていました。

そこで、タコは尋ねました。「どうして君は踊っているんだい。君らしくないよ。なのに、何で今踊ってなんかいるんだい。

ネズミは答えました。「ヘイ、タコ君。君の頭の上を触ってごらんよ。君の頭の上に何があるか触ってみてごらん。」

哀れなタコは自分の足の一本を上げ、降ろして見てみました。「おい、ネズミ君これはひどいよ。」

しかし、ネズミは、もう遠くに離れていました。だから、タコはネズミが這って、走って、踊っているところまではたどり着くことができませんでした。

このような訳で、今日では、我々はタコを捕まえる時にネズミを餌（おとり）として使います。我々は『プレ』という貝殻の一種を使います。これはネズミの頭に似てますから。ですから、今日に至るまで毎回タコを捕まえるためにこの餌（おとり）を海のなかにいれますと、タコは上がって来ます。つまり、タコは、「よーしネズミめ、僕の頭の上にしたことの仕返しにおまえを捕まえてやるぞ。」と思いながら、８本足で餌にくらいつきます。タコを引き揚げて海岸へ持ってきたら、タコの色が変わるのがわかります。茶色に変わります。ネズミがタコの頭の上にしたものの色です。これがお話しの英訳です。

3. Explanations of the story

(1) Octopus

i) Character in myths

Octopus is an important figure in Polynesian mythology. He appears to be mostly regarded as a war god. There is a story which tells us how the octopus became a war god. According to the following Samoan story, Octopus is the war god of the Vaimaunga (the name of a people):[3]

> One day an octopus, who is an *aitu*[4] comes to Apia from Fiji. He first lives on the beach, but then goes inland and resides in a cave. He builds a house with slabs of coral and scantling from a crag, assisted by many *aitu* . Before the house is completed, a group of women from Taga come to bathe. One of them is pregnant and near her time. While they are bathing, the woman travails, screams and ends up giving birth in the water. The *aitu* who are building the house hear the woman, and come near the spot where the women are. They see the woman giving birth. As the *aitu* have never seen such a sight, they are extremely terrified and flee away up the mountains, noisily followed by the octopus. Thus, the octopus finally dwells on an unfamiliar mountain range. There is another *aitu* called Pava who knows that area in the valley well. The octopus makes Pava his messenger. Since the octopus is greatly longing to go back to the place where he was, he asks Pava to go down the place to see if the women have gone. The woman

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[3]Churchhill, 1915: 118-9; Krämer and Steubel, 1995: 147.

[4]Meaning, "demon, ghost, spirit". (Toafa: 191.) According to Samoan tradition, an *aitu* is believed to come from Fiji (Churchhill, 1915: 118; Krämer and Steubel, 1995: 147).

> has been taken to the village and no women are left, and Pava reports this to the octopus. The octopus goes back to his home, saying that he will be the *matua*[5] of the land, rolling his thunder seaward for sheer joy. He stays at his house forever with Pava.
>
> There is a married couple, Muliumu and his husband Matafagatele, who become friends with Pava. The octopus gives his emblem of the turban of *siapo*[6] to Pava and also gives up everything to him. Then the octopus at last becomes the war *aitu* of the Vaimauga. It is said if the Vaimauga should be planning a war, and should by day or night hear the octopus roll his thunder inland, then they become anxious, warriors without courage and all the people are afraid. But if they should hear the octopus rolling his thunder down toward the sea, they rejoice and take courage, and the warriors lose their courage.[7]

A variant of the story was collected by Steubel and A and H Krämer and its adapted version was published. The version is almost the same as the above story. However, the ending is explained more clearly, as follows: The octopus gives his emblem of a hat made of mulberry leaves and full sovereignty to Pava. The married couple Muliumu and Matafagatele are from Matafagatele and become close friends of Pava. Therefore the Matafagatele people chose the octopus as their war god. It is said if they prepared for a fight and heard the octopus pounding about to landward, they were filled with fear and lost courage, and if they heard him to seaward, they rejoiced and were eager to start the action, for they felt confident of victory. Thereafter, the mulberry tree leaf has been their emblem till today.[8]

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[5]*Matua* means 'parent', 'or 'elder' or 'to be loyal. In this case the octopus probably promises to be their protector.

[6]*Siapo* means 'bark-cloth' or 'clothing made from the bast of paper mulberry'.

[7]Churchhill, 1915: 118-9.

[8]Krämer and Steubel, 1995: 147.

In the story of the Octopus and the Rat, the octopus is the one who is duped. Maybe people liked to think that a powerful figure could be tricked by a weaker person.

ii) The origin of the octopus's ink

It is believed in Samoa that a rat's excrement becomes the octopus's ink, because in the story the rat defecates on the octopus's head. Since then the octopus and the rat have been enemies.

iii) The device for catching the octopus

In the ending of some versions, the device which catches the octopus is explained. The device is shaped like a rat.[9]

(2) Rat

i) Character in myths

The rat is depicted as a trickster in numerous myths throughout Oceania.[10] It is also regarded as greedy animal as may be seen in some variants of the story: the rat chews the head (or hair or neck) of the octopus (or squid or starfish)[11], the rat cooks the turtle and eats its meat[12], the rat keeps the best fruit all to himself.[13] There is a story from Bellona Island which explains why the rat eats all kinds of food and leftovers.[14] The written account of the following story became available in 1973. The story is as follows.

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[9]See figure page 169.

[10]Lessa, 1961: 246.

[11]David, 1899: 99-100; Gittens, 1952: 86-8; Keneddy, 1931: 161-2; Lessa, 1961: 69-70; Turner, 1884: 218-9.

[12]Lessa, 1961: 70.

[13]Codrington, 1972: 360-1; Lessa, 1961: 69; Turner, 1884: 218-9.

[14]Kuschel, 1975: 105.

> Baisango from the extinct Tongo clan had his thousand panna and Toetoe from the extinct Sau clan give ritual thanks on behalf of Baisango. In the ritual Toetoe gives thanks to the deity Aso-O-Tou-Ngaand meaning, 'Deity-Carried-On-The-Lap' and places plentiful offerings on a coconut-leaf mat, chanting, 'There are no animals-with-teeth to take away your fingers (offerings)'. When people are asleep during the night, the goddess Baabenga who is not worshipped embodies herself in rats who eat all the panna. Ever since the rat eats all kinds of food.

ii) Rats crossing the water

In the story the rat at first swims across the water. The idea may have originated from the belief that rats migrated to Polynesia by crossing the Pacific ocean. Rats seem to have been brought to Aotearoa / New Zealand by Polynesians. Some believe rats crossed the water by themselves, in a row and each holding in its mouth the tail of the rat in front as they swam the great distance between Hawaiki and Aotearoa / New Zealand, while others believe they were transported on ancestral canoes.[15]

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[15]Orbell, 1995: 151.

Chapter VI. Trickster Myths: comparison and analysis-Japanese / Southeast Asian / Polynesian

1. The story of the White Rabbit of Inaba in Japanese mythology.

The story of the White Rabbit of Inaba is in *Kojiki.* This myth is considered to be a mixture of the story which was brought from the south before the *Kojiki* was compiled and the myth of Opo-kuni-nusi-nö-mikötö in the province of Inaba.[1]

The following is a brief summary of the plot of the story in *Kojiki.*

> A white rabbit which is on the island of Oki wants to cross the sea to another island. However there is no transport to cross the sea. A good plan occurs to the rabbit. His idea is to deceive a crocodile into getting his relatives to make a long bridge which would reach to the island. The rabbit tells the crocodile that he wants to find out which are larger in number: rabbits or crocodiles, and asks the crocodile to bring all his relatives and to tell them to lie in a straight line between this island and the island across the sea so that the rabbit will be able to count the relatives of the crocodile one by one as the rabbit runs across them, saying 'one, two, three...' . The rabbit tricks the crocodiles. When the rabbit counts the last crocodile and is about to land on the island, the rabbit tells them that he has deceived them. The last crocodile seizes and skins off all the clothes of the rabbit. When the rabbit is in pain on the ground crying, the eighty deities who are the older brothers of the deity Opo-kuni-nusi-nö-mikötö come and deliberately instruct the rabbit the wrong way to cure his pain: to bathe in salt water and

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[1]Nishioka, 1956, vo.I 29-3: 118; Tsugita, 1996: 112-3

> lie down where the wind will blow on the rabbit. The rabbit's injury gets worse and the rabbit's whole body becomes blistered. Then Opo-kuni-nusi-nö-mikötö, who becomes the founder of Izumo province, comes and instructs the rabbit in the proper way to cure his injury: wash the body at the river-mouth, take the pollen of the *kama* grass of the river-mouth. The rabbit is thereby saved by Opo-kuni-nusi-nö-mikötö.[2]

2. Other variants of the story in Japan

Kojiki is the oldest extant document which introduces the story in Japan. Besides *Kojiki* the story appears in *Inaba fudoki* compiled in the Muromachi period (1338-1573), *Yomikata* which was a primary school Japanese language text book published by the Ministry of Education in 1941 and *Inaba no shiro usagi* which was written by Ōki and published in 1953. These other versions may have been written based on the story in *Kojiki.* However, there are some slight differences in these versions.[3] The purpose of tricking the other animals and the animals whom the rabbit tricks vary from version to version although the ending, in which the rabbit has all his clothes skinned off, is the same. In *Inaba fudoki* the reason why the rabbit is left alone on the island of Oki is explained as follows: the rabbit drifts from Inaba province to the island of Oki because of a deluge, and he wants to cross the sea to go back home. The tricked animal is a fish called *Wani*, which means 'Crocodile' in Japanese. *Yomikata* does not explain the reason why the rabbit wants to cross the sea as in *Kojiki* while *Inaba no shiro usagi* gives the reason that the rabbit is lonely. It merely mentions that the rabbit wants to go to the opposite bank. In *Yomikata* and *Inaba no shiro usagi* the tricked animal is changed into a *Wani* shark.

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[2]Asakura, Inoguchi, Matsumae and Okano, 1992: 69; Kakubayashi, 1996-a: 38-9; Philippi, 1968: 93-5; Tsugita, 1996: 108-113.

[3]Nishioka, vo.I 29-2: 19-21.

3. Comparison between 'The White Rabbit of Inaba' and variants of the story outside Japan.

(1) Comparison between the Japanese story and the Samoan story of the Octopus and the Rat

The structure of both stories is basically the same. The trickster takes advantage of the other animal in order to cross the sea or the river. The tricked animal is described as a carrier. The trickster tells the other the truth about what he did. The other gets angry and pursues the trickster.

i) The trickster

In Polynesian, Micronesian and Melanesian myths, rats or bush-rats often appear as liars, and are usually described as mischievous creatures. In Japan and some other Asian countries rabbits are regarded as being cunning, while in many regions in Polynesia, Micronesia and Melanesia, the rat is regarded as a cunning animal. As mentioned earlier, rabbits are generally identified as cunning liars in Japan.

ii) Telling the truth

The trickster finally tells the truth, that he tricked the other: the rat tells the octopus that he tricked him, just as the rabbit tells that he tricked the crocodile. Then the tricked animal gets angry and pursues the trickster for revenge. The way of telling the truth is also common between them. The trickster derides the other, laughing at him when telling the facts.

iii) The revenge

The octopus pursues the rat and tries to take his revenge. However, the rat escapes the octopus's revenge. In some versions in Polynesia and Micronesia, the rat ends up being killed. Christian ideas of disliking cruel endings may have influenced the story and resulted in the non-cruel endings.
In the Japanese story, the crocodiles also take their revenge on the rabbit.

However, the ending also varies in some versions in different areas: the rabbit or the trickster escapes from his pursuer.

In order to see more clearly how these two tales are related, we must examine similar stories in the regions between Japan and Polynesia.

(2) Variants of the story outside Japan

Similar trickster stories are found in India, Sri Lanka, Vietnam, Cambodia, China, Japan and stories among the Gilyaks and Koryaks[4], Java, Sumatra, Borneo, peninsular Malaysia, Sulawesi, the Kepulauan Sangihe Islands[5], Halmahera, the island of New Guinea and its surrounding islands, Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia and so on.[6] Some scholars such as Dixon (1916), Nishioka (1956) and Kakubayashi (1996) argue that the story of the White Rabbit of Inaba was brought by people who migrated to Japan from Southeast Asia.[7] Crocodiles, which are originally from the tropical region, obviously did not exist in ancient Japan.[8] This fact implies the southern origins of the story. It is believed that some elements of the story are likely to have originated from Southeast Asian versions.[9] The common elements of the versions of the story are as follows: the story usually consists of a trickster's exploits, enmity between two animals and the pursuit of the trickster.

In most cases two kinds of animals appear in the story. One of them is a trickster who tries to deceive the other with wit in order to exploit the other for the trickster's purpose or wish, such as crossing over the sea or the river. As the trickster deceives the other in spite of the other's help the two animals

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[4]The Gilyaks live in Sakhalin, while the Koryaks live in Siberia (Matsubara, 1983: 107).

[5]The Kepulauan Sangihe Islands are to the north of the Sulawesi island.

[6]Dixon, 1916: 186-205; Kakubayashi, 1996-a: 39; Kakubayashi, 1996-b: 8-9; Matsubara, 1983: 107-110; Matsummoto, 1996-b: 247; Nishioka, 1956, vo.l 29-2: 18-37; vol. 29-3: 109-21; Philippi, 1968: 406-7; Tsugita, 1996: 112.

[7]Dixon, 1916: 203-5; Kakubayashi, 1996-a: 38-9; Kakubayashi, 1996-b: 8-9.

[8]Nishioka, vo.l 29-2: 24.

[9]Dixon, 1916: 203-5; Iwata, Keiji; Kanaseki, Hiroshi; Nakanishi, Susumu; Senda, Minoru; Ueda, Masaaki and Yamaori, Tetsuo, 1996:194; Kakubayashi, 1996-a: 39; Kakubayashi, 1996-b: 8-9; Senda, 1996: 71; Tsugita, 1996: 112-3.

become enemies. In the end in some versions, the victim takes revenge, but in others the trickster manages to escape from the other's pursuit or even kills the other.[10]

The following stories have a direct transformational relation to the White Rabbit of Inaba story.

i) A rabbit as the trickster

A rabbit plays the role of trickster in the following versions as in the Japanese story, although a rabbit does not cross the river counting the crocodiles' backs but one crocodile appears and carries the rabbit on his back.[11]

A. Vietnam (The rabbit and the crocodile)

A young rabbit lives away from his family on the opposite bank. He uses a log bridge whenever he visits his parents. One day the bridge is blown away by a typhoon. The rabbit is unable to go back home. A crocodile feels sorry for the rabbit and offers to take him providing the crocodile can marry his younger sister. Although the crocodile takes the rabbit to the bank safely the rabbit does not keep his promise and derides the tricked crocodile. The crocodile secretly waits for the rabbit to take his revenge on him by hiding himself in the grass. The rabbit eats the grass on the hiding crocodile without knowing it and falls asleep. While the rabbit is sleeping the crocodile takes the rabbit to the river and drowns him.[12]

B. Cambodia (The rabbit and the crocodile)

The following version was published in French and Cambodian by Midan in 1927. In this story, as in the Vietnamese story, a rabbit does not count the

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[10]Dixon, 1916: 186; Matsubara, 1983: 105-110; Nishioka, 1956, vo.l 29-2: 18-37; vol. 29-3: 109-21; Tsugita, 1996: 112.

[11]Matsubara, 1983: 109; Nishioka, 1956, vo.l 29-2: 31-6.

[12]Matsubara, 1983: 109.

number of crocodiles, as only one crocodile appears.[13]

A rabbit who escapes from a trap tries to cross the river. However, there is no transport. The rabbit tricks a crocodile by telling him that there is no more grass on this bank, and he knows a place on the opposite bank which has sweet water and mud; if the crocodile can take him to the bank, the rabbit can show him the place. The crocodile agrees. The rabbit is disgusted with sitting on the crocodile's squarrose skin. So he puts a banana skin on it saying to the crocodile that he does not want the crocodile's back to get dirty as his bottom is dirty. When the crocodile drops the rabbit off the bank, the rabbit tells the truth that there is no sweet water and mud, and that he put the banana skin on because the crocodile's back is squarrose. Then the clever rabbit runs off.

C. China (The rabbits and the turtles)

The following version explains the origin of rabbits' short tails.[14]

A long time ago rabbits' tails were resplendent with long hair. A certain rabbit couple tries to cross the river in order to get their favorite food, some green grass. The couple are the original ancestors of all rabbits. Although there are only two rabbits they suggest to a turtle that they compare the number of their family members. They agree to count the number of the turtle's family today and the number of the rabbits' family tomorrow. The rabbits make the turtle's family line up in two rows. The rabbits count them stepping on their backs one by one. When they see some green grass on the bank they ridicule the turtles and boast of their exploit. At the last moment when the rabbits land on the bank the two turtles who are near the bank catch them and bite their tails off. That is the reason why rabbits tails are short now.

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[13]Nishioka, 1956, vo.I 29-2: 36-7.

[14]Matsubara, 1983: 109.

ii) A fox as the trickster

Sakhalin (A fox and the seals)

The following version belongs to the Gilyak. Three similar versions are seen in stories of the Koryaks in the Kamchatka peninsula.[15]

A fox is caught and dropped onto an island by an eagle. When he is crying a seal comes and asks the reason for his crying. The fox tells the seal that he is not crying but singing and he calls all seals together. Then the fox counts the number of seals by stepping on their heads. The fox lands on the island and scratches the head of the seal who is nearest the island. However, the fox is trapped and dies in the end.

iii) A mouse-deer as the trickster

In versions in Borneo, Java, Sumatra and among the Malays of the Malay peninsula the mouse-deer plays the role of the trickster.[16]

A. The Malay peninsula (The fawn and the crocodiles)

A certain fawn (a mouse-deer) wants to cross the river. However he is afraid because of scary crocodiles in the river. The fawn asks the king of the crocodiles which are larger in number: fawns or crocodiles. The king says that there are at least one thousand crocodiles. Then the king agrees to the fawn counting the crocodiles in the river. The fawn counts them by stepping on their backs one by one saying 'one, two and three...'. When the fawn reaches the other side of the river he derides the king and merrily runs off to the forest.[17]

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[15]Ibid.

[16]Dixon, 1916: 186; 192; Matsubara, 1983: 108; Nishioka, 1956, vo.I 29-3: 111.

[17]Matsubara, 1983: 107; Nishioka, 1956, vo.I 29-3: 110-1.

B. Indonesia

a) Sumatra (The fawn and the crocodiles)

This version is a tradition belonging to indigenous people from southern Sumatra.[18]

A certain fawn is thinking of crossing the river, however he cannot find a way. He sees a crocodile and asks it which are larger in number: fawns or crocodiles. Both think their own group are more numerous than the other. The fawn tells the crocodile to call all the crocodiles for him, so he can check whether crocodiles are more numerous. The crocodiles line up as they are told. The fawn counts them stepping over their backs. When the fawn reaches the land he laughingly tells the truth that he only wants to cross the river. The deceived crocodile tries to take his revenge on the fawn and bites his legs at the river. The fawn tells the crocodile that he is grabbing sticks not his legs. The crocodile believes him and releases his mouth, then the fawn runs off. The angry crocodile lies down on the ground like a log thinking of a way to kill the fawn. The fawn realizes what the crocodile is doing and says, 'If you are a log keep turning around, if you are a crocodile stay as you are.' Then the crocodile turns around once. The fawn runs off, mockingly saying, 'A log does not move by itself and so you must be a crocodile.' In this way the fawn continues tricking the crocodile. The fawn also tricks a tiger who happens to be there, and treats both animals badly.

b) Java

Version 1) (The mouse-deer and the crocodiles)

In the following story, a deer tricks crocodiles in the river.[19]

One evening a certain deer is not able to go back home because it is getting

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[18]Matsubara, 1983: 108.

[19]Ibid.

dark and it looks as if it is going to rain. The deer has to cross the river to go back home. However, the river is flooded and it seems to be impossible to cross it. Then the deer plans to use crocodiles in order to cross the river. The deer makes the crocodiles line up across the river, by lying to them that the king of the animals has ordered the mouse-deer to count the crocodiles that live in the river. The crocodiles quickly line up and the deer counts them jumping on their backs one by one. When the deer jumps over the last crocodile and lands on the ground the deer tells the crocodiles that he has tricked them. The crocodiles get angry.

Version 2) (The mouse-deer, the crocodiles and the buffalo)

Another version was recorded by Winsedtt. The version was originally told to a resident from Perak in the Malay peninsula by a Javanese who resided in Malacca. The story told by the Javanese was based on an old book in Javanese.[20]

A certain crocodile whose tail is sandwiched between two big fallen trees tricks a buffalo into rescuing him. However the crocodile tries to eat his rescuer, the buffalo. A clever mouse-deer rescues the buffalo from the crocodile's attack. Since then the crocodile and the mouse-deer have been enemies. One day the crocodile bites the mouse-deer's legs when the mouse-deer is about to drink the water at the river. The mouse-deer says to the crocodile, 'Why are you eating a dead branch?'. The crocodile seriously thinks that he has grabbed a branch instead of the legs by mistake. When the crocodile releases his mouth the mouse-deer runs off. Then next, the mouse-deer is in trouble wondering how to cross the river to escape. The mouse-deer again tricks the crocodile, lying, 'I am a messenger of the prophet Nabi Soleyman and I am going to check the number of crocodiles. Line up on the water.' The mouse-deer starts counting the numbers, jumping on the backs of the crocodiles one by one, saying 'one, two, three...' and after reaching the other side of the river successfully, tells the crocodiles that they are deceived. The story continues on like this.

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[20]Nishioka, 1956, vo.l 29-2: 24; v o.l 29-3: 109-10.

Version 3) (The mouse-deer and the crocodiles)

A similar story to the version recorded by Winsedtt is found in the version recorded by Cardon, although the order of the plot is different as follows.[21]

First a mouse-deer tricks a crocodile in order to cross the river and get some fruit on the opposite bank. He tells the crocodile that king Soleyman has ordered him to line up some crocodiles. The angry crocodile catches the legs of the mouse-deer. However, he is tricked again and the mouse-deer runs off, as in the version recorded by Winsedtt.[22]

There is another Javanese variant in which a mouse-deer tricks a tiger four times in the same way. However, there is no plot of counting or crossing the river as in the story of the White Rabbit of Inaba.[23]

c) Borneo

Version 1) (The fawn and the crocodiles)

The following version is from the western part of Kalimantan.[24]

A certain fawn wants to get some flowers, which are his favourite food, from the other side of the river. He tricks some crocodiles in order to cross the river. The fawn calls the crocodiles together and tells them that he is a messenger of a king, and the king is going to starve them. The crocodiles ask the fawn to help them. The fawn tells them that he will count the number of crocodiles who want to be saved, and tells them to line up to the other side of the river. The fawn counts them one by one as he jumps on their backs. When the fawn reaches dry land he tells the crocodiles that he has tricked them in order to

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[21]Ibid, v o.I 29-3: 111-2.

[22]A similar story is also in the children's book by Hillman and Skeat (Nishioka, 1956, vo.I 29-3: 112.). A Chinese version of this story is also found in Singapore (Nishioka, 1956, vo.I 29-2: 24; v o.I 29-3: 111-2).

[23]Dixon, 1916: 186-8.

[24]Matsubara, 1983: 108.

cross the river.

Version 2) (The mouse-deer and the crocodiles)

The story in northern Borneo is as follows.[25]

A certain mouse-deer and some crocodiles are having a fight. The mouse-deer makes footprints everywhere in the sand on the bank. When the crocodiles come on the day of the fighting the mouse-deer tricks the crocodiles saying, 'You come here too late and so our companions have already left, being bored with waiting too long. I am not lying. Look at all the footprints in the sand. However I want to know how many of you there are. Would you mind lining up to the opposite bank for me to count you?' As in the other versions the mouse-deer reaches the opposite bank. The tricked crocodile catches the mouse-deer's legs when he comes to drink the water at the river. The mouse-deer tricks the crocodile again saying, 'You have not caught my legs. My legs are here.' The mouse-deer gives the crocodile a branch and escapes.

Version 3) (The fawn and the crocodiles)

The following version is recorded by Koide. In this version a certain fawn tricks a crocodile many times.[26]

In the first trick a fawn lies to a crocodile saying, 'There is a feast for you, so come up to the bank,' and the crocodile gets angry. The second time, the crocodile waits for the fawn pretending that he is a log. The fawn says to the crocodile, 'Hey! Are you a crocodile or a log? If you are a crocodile go down the river. If you are a log go up the river.' The crocodile goes up the river, trying to pretend that he is a log. Then the fawn says, 'A log will not go up the river. You are stupid.' The third time, the crocodile catches the fawn's leg. However, the fawn gives him a stalk of a reed and escapes saying, 'Here is my leg.' The fourth time the crocodile comes up to the bank and hides himself

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[25]Nishioka, 1956, vo.l 29-3: 113.

[26]Ibid.

in a fallen tree on some cleared land, thinking of catching the fawn. The fawn outwits and injures the crocodile, and says, 'A king ordered us to burn the cleared land today,' and lets the landowner set fire to the land. The fifth time, the fawn wants to try some flowers on the opposite bank and deceives the crocodile by saying, 'The king is going to make all of you numb.' The crocodile begs the fawn to ask the king to spare him. The fawn makes the crocodiles line up telling them that he has to count the number of hopeful crocodiles. In this way the crocodiles are tricked many times.

Version 4) (The mouse-deer, the tortoise, the deer, the elephant and the monster)

In the following version several animals appear.[27]

A mouse-deer, a tortoise, a deer, a certain elephant, and several other animals go fishing. They catch a large fish, smoke some portion of it and preserve it. Each animal takes turns to look after the drying fish. The caretakers, except for the mouse-deer, fail to guard the fish and a forest demon comes and eats it. The witty mouse-deer succeeds in protecting the fish by tricking the monster. The mouse-deer captures the monster, pretending that he is curing the monster's back pain. The mouse-deer ties up the monster when he lies down. The monster trusts the mouse-deer, and the monster is killed by the animals. Similar stories are seen in the island of New Guinea and its surrounding islands. The element of tying a monster by a ruse or in his sleep is also seen in Melanesia.

iv) An ape as the trickster

In the island of New Guinea and its surrounding islands, Sulawesi and Halmahera etc. an ape often plays the role of the trickster.[28]

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[27]Dixon, 1916: 188-9.

[28]Ibid: 186.

A. Sulawesi (The ape and the crocodiles)

Hickson recorded the following version.[29]

A certain young crocodile tells an ape who is captured on an island that the crocodile is going to eat the ape. The ape derides the crocodile saying, 'You are too small. You had better go to look for more friends.' The crocodile brings many friends and the ape makes the crocodiles line up. The ape runs off by counting the number of crocodiles.

B. the Kepulauan Sangihe Islands (The ape and the crocodiles)

A crocodile suggests to an ape to count the number of their retainers in order to know whose retainers are more in number. They decide to bring their retainers and meet at the beach next morning. The ape goes there earlier. When the crocodile comes with his retainers the ape is alone there. The crocodile asks the ape where his retainers are. The ape says that his retainers got tired of waiting too long and left and asks him to count the number of footprints on the beach. The crocodile realizes that he is tricked by the ape, and tries to take his revenge on the ape. Next morning the crocodile catches the ape's legs when the ape comes to the beach to get some shells and crabs. The ape tricks the crocodile again saying, 'You have caught the root of a tree, instead of my legs,' and runs off.[30]

C. Sulawesi and the Kepulauan Sangihe Islands (The ape and another animal)

An ape and another animal go to the shore to gather shell-fish. The ape has already tricked the animal. They find a monster clam, and the animal persuades the ape to put his hand into the shell in order to take his revenge on him. The ape's hand is cut off in the end. Similar stories are found farther to the east in New Britain (the Solomon Islands).[31]

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[29]Nishioka, 1956, vo.l 29-3: 114-5.

[30]Matsubara, 1983: 108.

[31]Dixon, 1916: 194-5.

D. Philippines (The ape and the Spanish mackerel)

This story belongs to Sanguiles in the southern part of Mindanao island.

When an ape is about to drown, a certain *sawara* (Spanish mackerel)[32] comes and tries to eat the ape. The ape tricks the mackerel saying, 'I do not have either flesh or organs.' The mackerel asks the ape, 'Where did you leave them?' The ape says, 'I left them behind on the beach. If you can take me to the bank I will fetch them.' The mackerel carries the ape on his back to the bank. When they reach the bank the ape runs off, saying, 'Wait for a while as I will go to get them. The mackerel dies as the tide is ebbing.[33]

E. Sulawesi, the Kepulauan Sangihe Islands, Halmahera, Borneo and Malay peninsula (The ape and the heron)

The following story is about a trickster ape and a heron.[34]

The ape and the heron are originally good friends. However the ape tricks the heron and they become enemies. The ape pulls all the heron's feathers off pretending that he is picking the heron's lice. The heron ends up not being able to fly away. Another heron takes its revenge on the ape. The ape is invited by the heron to an island which has berries. They set off in a canoe. When they come close to the land the heron pecks a hole in the bottom of the boat and flies away leaving the ape in the canoe.

F. The Kepulauan Sangihe Islands and Halmahera and Malay peninsula (The ape and the shark)

A certain ape is about to drown and a shark comes to eat him. The ape tricks

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[32]*Scomberomorus niphonius.* The fish belong to the mackerel family and is seen in the waters around central Japan and the southern part of the Korean Peninsula, and in the East China Sea. (Allen and Masuda, 1987: 388)

[33]Nishioka, 1956, vo.I 29-3: 115.

[34]Dixon, 1916: 192.

the shark by telling him that he left his flesh or entrails ashore. The shark agrees to carry the ape to the shore to get his flesh. While the shark waits for the ape, the tide goes out and the shark dies.[35]

G. Sulawesi, Java, the Kepulauan Sangihe Islands, Halmahera, the Philippines (among the Visayan, Tagalog and Tinguian) and the Banks Islands. (The ape and the tortoise)

The following story is about a trickster ape and a tortoise.[36]

An ape and a tortoise plant banana trees. The ape plants his on the shore while the tortoise plants his inland. The ape's banana tree dies because of the salt water, whereas the tortoise's tree grows well and bears fruit. However, the tortoise is not able to climb up the tree and get the fruit. So the tortoise asks the ape to get the fruit for him. The ape climbs up the tree, however he eats them all on his own. The angry tortoise collects some sharpened bamboo sticks and places them in the ground under the tree. The ape has to jump on the ground and ends up being killed.

H. The island of New Guinea and its surrounding islands

Version 1) (The ape and the crane, and the crocodiles)

The following version is from the eastern part of the island of New Guinea. The first half of the story is similar to some versions in Polynesia, Micronesia and Melanesia.[37]

A certain ape asks a crane to take him to an island in order to get fruit there. The crane wants to go back home. However the ape does not wish to leave the island and so he pulls off the crane's wings. The crane's wings grow again. The crane leaves the island leaving behind the ape although the ape asks him

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[35]Ibid: 193.

[36]Ibid: 195.

[37]Matsubara, 1983: 108-9.

to take him. The witty ape makes many footprints in the sand and tricks a crocodile by asking which are larger in number: crocodiles or apes, and proposes that they have a fight. The crocodile brings his friends. The ape suggests that they should count their numbers before the fight and tells them to line up to the land beyond. The ape counts them as he jumps on their backs one by one, and reaches the island safely.

Version 2) (The ape and the heron, and the crocodiles)

A similar story is recorded by Horioka. A certain ape tricks a crocodile and a heron also appears in the version. A certain heron takes a certain ape to an island which has some trees with fruits. When the heron persuades the ape, who is still eating fruit, to leave the island, the ape gets angry and pulls off the heron's wings. When the heron's wings are grown back he leaves the island, leaving the ape. The ape crosses the sea by tricking some crocodiles. While the crocodiles are sleeping the ape makes footprints in the sand. The ape wakes the crocodiles up and suggests that they check which are larger in number: the apes or the crocodiles. Then the crocodiles line up and are counted.[38]

v) A jackal as the trickster

The stories in India and Sri Lanka share common some elements with the ones in Vietnam and Cambodia: a crocodile helps a trickster crossing the river. In the Sri Lankan story a jackal tricks a crocodile, saying that he is going to look for a marriage partner for the crocodile. In the Vietnamese story, a rabbit says that he will give his beautiful younger sister to the crocodile. Moreover, there is a similar story in Kamchatka in which a rabbit tricks a seal.[39]

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[38]Nishioka, 1956, vo.I 29-3: 114.

[39]Ibid: 116.

A. India (The jackal and the crocodile)

Version 1)

The following story is from the Punjab area in India.[40]

A jackal also tricks a crocodile. However the jackal tricks a single female crocodile, but not a single male crocodile. As the jackal flatters the female crocodile she thinks that the jackal is attracted to her appearance, and takes him to the bank where his favourite fruits are.

Version 2)

The following story belongs to the Santals Parganas people in the Central Bengal area.[41]

A jackal falls into the water, unsuccessfully trying to cross a river. The jackal is carried by a crocodile to the bank, and promises the crocodile that he will give him a piece of meat in return. When the crocodile reaches the bank he tells the crocodile to close his eyes and open his mouth. When the crocodile opens his mouth the jackal throws a big stone into his mouth. The crocodile waits for the jackal near a lake and catches the jackal's legs. However the jackal escapes again by saying, 'You are stupid: you take a tree root for my legs'.

B. Sri Lanka (The jackal and the crocodile)

A jackal plays the role of trickster in Sri Lanka.[42]

A jackal wants to eat the carcass of an elephant, however he cannot cross the river. The jackal meets a crocodile and tricks him asking, 'Why are you single? If you can help me cross the river I think I could help find a wife for you.' The crocodile diligently carries him many times until the elephant's body turns into

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[40]Ibid: 115.

[41]Ibid: 115-6.

[42]Ibid: 115.

nothing but bones.

vi) A rat as the trickster (the story of the Octopus and the Rat)

The story of the Octopus and the Rat clearly shares some common elements with the story of the White Rabbit of Inaba. I believe that the the two stories are related and they have common origins. Therefore I regard the Octopus and the Rat as another variant of the White Rabbit of Inaba.

Numerous variants of 'The Octopus and the Rat' are distributed throughout Western Polynesia and further to the west, in Micronesia and Melanesia. However no variants are found in Eastern Polynesia. The squid replaces the octopus in some variants.[43]

A. Brief summary of the story

Originally the rat and the octopus are good friends. When the rat is on the canoe with the crab and the plover (sometimes other birds or creatures are mentioned instead)[44] a storm comes and the canoe is sunk. The crab and the plover manage to get out of the water and save themselves. However the rat is the only one who is left in the water and has to swim. When the rat nearly gets drowned, an octopus comes to rescue him. The octopus carries the rat on his head and takes him to an island. While the rat is on the octopus's head, the rat does something nasty on the octopus's head. In some versions the rat defecates on the octopus's head, and it is said that the faeces are the origin of the brown spots there. In the other versions the rat plucks the octopus's hair out or chews his head. The octopus asks several times what is going on. The rat lies telling that nothing is going on. In some versions the rat keeps on laughing and the octopus becomes suspicious.

The rat finally tells of the trick he has played on the octopus's head after he gets on the shore. The octopus feels his head and gets angry. Although he

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[43]Benson, 1993: 104-6; Huntsman, 1977: 134; Kennedy, 1931: 161-2; Turner, 1884: 134; 218-9.

[44]Benson, 1993: 104-6.

pursues the rat he cannot catch him.

In some versions the octopus catches the rat and kills him with his tentacles. It is said that since this incident the octopus and the rat have been enemies. This story explains why the lure which is made like a rat is used to catch the octopus.

The following are variants of the story. Since the name of the story varies from place to place, the name of the story as it it known in each area is mentioned in parentheses beside the name of each area.

B. Variants of the story

a) Ulithi Atoll [45](the land crab and the rat)

This story was told by Melchethal, who heard it on Mogmog, Lam, Sorlen and Asor. It explains why cats chase rats.[46] The last part of the story seems to be a variant of the story of the Octopus and the Rat.

A big land crab and a rat who lived on the tiny island of Ialel Paling, west of the Patangeras, go to look for food. They find a pandanus tree with fruit. The rat tells the crab to stay under the tree and goes to climb the tree to get some fruit. The rat eats the best parts of the fruit and throws the leavings and the bad fruit down to the crab. The crab sings a song, as follows:

> Your leftovers, and bad food.
> Wouldn't you like some of my food!

Then the rat is curious about the crab's food and asks him about it. The crab

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[45]Ulithi Atoll belongs to the Caroline Islands which are located in Micronesia, due north of New Guinea.

[46]Lessa, 1961: 69-70.

[47]Ulithi Atoll belongs to the Caroline Islands which are located in Micronesia, due north of New Guinea.

[48]Lessa, 1961: 69-70.

tells him that it is *bwolokh*.[49] The rat says that he dislikes this. Then the crab says he has some coconut. This time the rat says that he likes that,[50] and drops some good fruit down from the pandanus tree. They eat the fruit together. After they finish eating, the crab suggests to go canoeing.The crab makes a canoe and they sail off. The crab secretly makes a hole in the hull of the canoe, because he is angry with the rat. The canoe sinks. The crab crawls along the floor of the sea and reaches the island. The rat on the other hand, hangs on to the tip of the mast. He sees a turtle swimming, and asks the turtle to carry him. The turtle agrees and carries the rat on his back. However, when they get the beach and the turtle asks the rat to get off, the rat asks the turtle to carry him farther along. The rat removes some lice from the turtle's head and the turtle falls sleep feeling comfortable. While the turtle sleeps, the rat kills him by hitting his head with a shell. He cooks him over a fire, cuts him open and eats some of the meat. When he is full, he defecates and stuffs the insides of the turtle's body with excrement. Then the rat goes to get the land crab to invite him to eat some turtle meat. However, the crab finds that the insides of the turtle's body are stuffed with excrement. The angry crab calls a cat and asks him to chase and kill the rat. Since then cats always try to catch rats.

b) Bellona Island[51] (The rat and the squid)

The following story was told in 1972 by Daniel Tuhanuku[52] who is of Tongaba lineage in Matahenua. The story explains the origin of the squid spurting ink.[53]

Originally the rat and the squid were friends. The squid offers to carry the rat to the shore. The rat accepts his offer and jumps on the squid who has a shell inside his body. The rat stays on the squid's back. On their way to the shore,

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[49]*Bwolokh* is the local name for *cyrtosperma chamissonis.* It is a pseudo taro which is common food among Ulithians (Lessa, 1961: 70).

[50]Coconut is regarded as more valued food than *bwolokh* (Lessa, 1961: 70).

[51]Bellona island, which belongs to the Solomon islands, is a tiny raised coral atoll in Melanesia. (Kuschel, 1975: 2).

[52]Daniel Tuhanuku was in his early fifties and a baptized member of the South Sea Evangelical Church when he told the story to the author (Kuschel, 1975: 25).

[53]Kuschel, 1975: 97-9.

the rat defecates on the squid. The squid takes the rat to the shore, not realizing what the rat is doing on his body. The squid tells the rat to jump off, and the rat goes to climb up the rocky coast. The rat starts laughing. The squid asks the rat why he is laughing. The rat does not tell the real reason, saying that he is laughing at the two of them going off and coming there. The rat keeps on laughing a lot and the squid stays there, being suspicious. The rat finally tells the squid to touch his head. The squid finds the rat's defecation on his head. Therefore a part of his head becomes muddy and deep black with feces. It is said that when squid are hit by a spear or are afraid, they spurt black ink. The ink is the rat's faeces. Since then rats are known as animals who make a mess anywhere, defecating where they eat, as the rat did on the squid's head. Rats will often defecate when they get a sudden shock.

c) Tuvalu

Version 1) (The rat and the squid)

The following story from Vaitupu was published by Kennedy.[54]

One day a man Manumanu makes the journey in his canoe with frigate birds, crabs and a rat. Before they set off Manumanu asks each creature what they would do if the canoe sank. The frigate birds answer that they would fly. The crabs reply that they would crawl along the bottom. The rat says that he would swim. The canoe sinks. The birds fly away, the crabs crawl away along the bottom, and the rat swims, as they had said. However the rat can no longer swim any more and cries for help. Then a squid comes by and the rat sits on the squid's head. The rat eats the hair on the squid's head as he is hungry. The suspicious squid asks the rat what is going on. However the rat does not tell him what he does and says that he is looking for lice in the squid's hair. They reach the land and the rat goes to the shore. After the rat sees that the squid is in the sea in the distance, he calls out to the squid to feel his head. The squid asks what he says and the rat replies that it is nothing and he is joking. The rat calls out at the squid again to feel his head. The squid feels his

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[54]Kennedy, 1931: 161-2.

head and finds it bald. The angry squid pursues the rat day after day. When the rat comes to a crab hole the squid thrusts out his tentacle. The rat bites off his tentacle. However the squid puts another tentacle out into the rat's ear and kills the rat. Now, when people see a squid without one of its tentacles they say that it has been bitten off by the rat because of their hatred, and they use the bait in the shape of a rat to catch squid.

Version 2) (The sandlark, the crab, the rat and the starfish)

The following story from Funafuti was published by David. In the story, the starfish replaces the octopus.[55]

One day a sandlark decides to sail a canoe. A crab and a rat want to go sailing with the sandlark and ask the sandlark whether they can join him one by one. The sandlark asks both of them what they would do if the canoe sank. The crab says that he will stick on to a rock with his claws, while the rat answers that he can swim ashore. So the sandlark allows them to join him. Then three of them set off on the journey in the canoe. The wind blows and the canoe sinks. The sandlark flies away, the crab sticks on to the rock with his claws, and the rat swims. On the way the rat meets a starfish. The starfish offers the rat a ride, as he looks tired. The rat hops on the starfish's back and the starfish carries the rat to the shore. While they are on the way, the rat keeps chewing the starfish's hair off until his back becomes completely bald. When the rat reaches the shore, he calls out to the starfish and tells him to feel his back. The starfish gets angry and quickly swims to the shore. He continues to pursue the rat who is hiding himself in a hole in a log. The starfish drags the rat out with his legs and kills him.

d) Tokelau (The canoe of the crab)

The following story was told by Alohio Kave.[56]

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[55]David, 1899: 99-100.

[56]Huntsman, 1977: 34-9.

One day, Crab, the captain of a bonito-fishing canoe, recruits a crew. Crab boards the canoe with Plover, Turnstone, Rat and Tern. They have bad weather and the canoe sinks. Plover, Turnstone and Tern fly away, Crab sinks below the sea on the reef. Rat starts to swim to the shore. Turtle, Kingfish and Shark pass by one at a time. Rat explains that the canoe has sunk, however they swear at Rat unsympathetically. Finally Rat meets Octopus and he rescues Rat. Rat sits on the back of Octopus. The length of Octopus's hair exceeds five handspans. Rat plucks Octopus's hair, singing the following song as they go:

Octopus, Octopus
Feel up then to your head
It glistens plucked.

Octopus asks Rat several times what Rat said. However Rat does not tell the truth about what he is doing with his hair. Then Octopus's head becomes bald. At last Rat tells Octopus to feel his head. Rat has run off when Octopus finds out that all his hair is completely plucked. Octopus pursues Rat for revenge. Rat hides himself in the reef. Octopus attacks Rat thrusting his tentacles at him one by one. He misses the first seven times and Rat cuts them off, however he kills Rat with the last tentacle by thrusting it into Rat's earhole.

e) Tonga (the octopus and the rat)

Version 1)

The following story was recorded by Collocott of Nukualofa in Tongatabu.[58]

One day some birds assemble to go on a voyage in a boat and they set off. A kingfisher pecks a hole in the bottom of the boat and the boat sinks. The birds fly away. A hermit crab and a rat are the only flightless creatures on board. The hermit crab creeps to the reef and this is the beginning of his going to the sea. The rat swims. An octopus comes along and asks the rat where he has

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[57]Ibid: 37.

[58]Gifford, 1924: 206.

been. The rat explains the situation, and the octopus offers the rat a ride to the shore. The rat gets onto the octopus's head. They reach the shore and separate. When they part, the rat calls out at the octopus to feel his head. The octopus finds his head covered with the rat's excrement. The angry octopus pursues the rat who flees and takes refuge in a hole. Since then the octopus has the tubercles on the head which is the rat's excrement and the two animals have been enemies. This is also the reason that the octopus goes after the bait which is an imitation rat.

Version 2)

The following variant of the above story was recorded by Murley of Pangai in Lifuka island in Haapai.[59]

One day, a hermit crab, a rat and a flying fish go out in a canoe. The canoe sinks. The flying fish flies into the water and finds that he can swim, and so he is not drowned. The hermit crab sinks and lands on a submerged reef, discovering that he can live there. The rat has to swim and nearly gets drowned. An octopus passes by and the rat calls out to him for help. The octopus saves the rat. First the octopus offers his tentacles for the rat to climb up. However the rat refuses them saying that he is afraid of the suckers. Then the octopus tells the rat to climb on his head. The rat keeps urinating and defecating on his head, although the octopus does not know that. When they come near the shore, the octopus asks the rat to jump off. However the rat refuses to do so, saying that the water is still too deep. As the kind octopus takes him almost to the dry sand, the rat does not get wet. The rat does not thank the octopus but shouts at him to feel his head. The octopus finds the rat's dung on his head and becomes extremely angry. Since then the octopus detests the rat. Whenever octopuses find rats, they make a rush to catch them in their tentacles in great anger. Therefore, Tongans make a lure, the imitation rat, to catch octopuses with a stone, two large cowry shells, and a twig. The lure is called a *makafeke* (octopus stone).[60]

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[59]Ibid: 206-7.

[60]Ibid.

f) Samoa (the rat, the snipe and the crab)

The following story is about three friends, a rat, a snipe and a crab.[61]

One day a rat, a snipe and a crab who are friends build a canoe and go out on a short cruise. They are caught in a squall and their canoe sinks. The snipe flies to the shore, the crab sinks to the bottom of the sea and the rat swims. The rat gets tired and can hardly swim any longer. An octopus comes along and the rat begs the octopus for help. The octopus lets the rat sit on his back. The octopus feels pain on his back while he carries the rat. Then the octopus tells the rat that he is too heavy. The rat replies that it is because he drank too much salt water while swimming. The octopus drops the rat off at the shore, and the rat runs off to the bush. The octopus still feels the pain and finds that the rat has gnawed at the back of his neck. The octopus pursues the rat asking all his friends among the owls to look for and destroy the rat. They find the rat, kill him and eat him.

There is a proverb which exhorts not to return evil for good: 'Do not be like the rat with the octopus, evil will overtake you if you do.'

g) Niue (Niuē-fekai[62]) (The rat and the octopus)

The following story was recorded by Fakalagatoa of Mutalau.[63]

One day, a rat, a land crab and a plover build a canoe. They discuss what they will do when the canoe sinks. The rat says that he will swim, the crab says that he will sink and the plover says that he will fly. They set off in the canoe and the canoe sinks. The plover flies, the crab sinks and the rat has to swim. The rat is about to be drowned when an octopus comes and rescues him. The octopus carries him on his head and takes him to the shore. After the octopus returns to the sea, the rat calls out to the octopus to feel the top of his head

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[61]Turner, 1884: 218-9.

[62]It is the proper modern name (Smith, 1993: 2).

[63]Loeb, 1926: 194.

which is soiled by the rat. Since then the octopus's anger lasts till today.

C. Other stories about the rat

There are other well-known stories about the rat from Polynesia and Melanesia. These do not contain the episode in which the rat is carried across the sea, but as I will make clear later, they also have a connection with the Japanese story of the White Rabbit of Inaba.

a) The islands of New Guinea (The rat and the butterfly)

The following story was collected from the natives at Goodenough Bay in Wedau in the South-eastern part of the island of New Guinea. The story seems to be a variant of the story of the octopus and the rat as some common elements are found in both stories.[64]

A rat and a butterfly make a canoe and go out on the sea in the canoe. They break wind by turns. The rat finally breaks wind vehemently, and the canoe is split and sinks. The rat swims and the butterfly flies away. The rat calls out to the butterfly to stay with him. The butterfly gets tired and perches on the rat's head. The rat tells the butterfly to get off as he thinks that they may sink. The butterfly tells the rat that he should carry the butterfly to the shore as the rat split the canoe. The rat takes the butterfly to the shore.The butterfly goes to a banana garden and sucks the juice from the ripe bananas. On the other hand, the rat goes to a sugar-cane patch, climbs and gnaws a juicy cane. The cane suddenly breaks and falls over towards the rat. The rat dies. The butterfly wraps the rat's body and carries it with his fellow butterflies and buries him safely although the kite, the osprey, and the other carrion birds try to get the carcass.

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[64]Seligman, 1910: 377; 410-1.

b). Bellona Island (The bat and the rat)

Version 1)

The following story was told in 1971 by Sengeika Tepuke[66] who is of Matabaingei lineage in Matahenua. The story explains why the rat runs with short rapid leaps, and why the fruit bat flies zigzag, flitting.[67]

Originally, the rat had two wings and the fruit bat had a tail. One day a bare-backed fruit bat and a rat go looking for some *banga*[68] nuts for themselves. They find a *banga* tree and the rat tells the bat to climb up the tree and throw down some nuts. The bat replies that he will fly up and loosen some nuts if the rat gives him his two wings in exchange for his tail. The rat agrees, tears off his wings and gives them to the bat. The bat cuts off his tail and gives it to the rat. The bat flies away, shouting that he has tricked the rat. He does not loosen any nuts, and keeps the rat's wings forever. The rat pursues the bat, running back and forth. However, he does not run well, making short and rapid leaps because he is originally a flying creature, not a walking creature. Nowadays, you can see a joint in rats' tails, which is there because the bat's tail was given to the rat. On the other hand, you can still see the remains of a tail on fruit bats.

Version 2)

The following story was also told in 1972 by Sengeika Tepuke.[69]

Originally, the rat had wings and the fruit bat had a tail. One day a rat and a fruit bat go to pick some *banga* nuts. The bat wants the rat's wings and tells the rat to give him the wings so the bat can fly up and get some nuts. The bat offers to give the rat his tail in return. They exchange the wings and the tail. The bat flies away, saying to the rat that he has tricked the rat. The bat keeps

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[65]Turner, 1884: 216.

[66]Sengeika Tepuke was aged about forty and a deacon of the Seventh-day Aventists to his village (Kuschel, 1975: 22-3).

[67]Kuschel, 1975: 100-1.

[68]*Banga* is a tree with edible nuts.

[69]Kuschel, 1975: 101-2.

the rat's wings forever. The rat cannot run well as he lost his wings. When we catch rats we can see the bat's tail. Rats have the bat's tail, while bats have the rat's wings.

Version 3)

The following story was told by Daniel Tuhanuku at Matahenua in 1972.[70]

Originally, the rat had two wings while the fruit bat had a tail and walked on the ground. They had the habit of strolling about. One day a fruit bat and a rat look up and see *banga* nuts or *tangie* nuts or *baobao* nuts and so on. The fruit bat asks the rat to get some nuts as he has wings. The rat goes up the trees and drops nuts, and they eat them. After they finish the nuts, they go to elsewhere has *banga* nuts, *tangie* nuts, *ghaghimanga* or *baobao* nuts in order to get some nuts. The two animals are always together strolling around and get some nuts in the same way. The rat is always the one to climb up trees as he has wings whereas the bat does not. On another day, they go off to get *banga* nuts as usual. When they find a *banga* tree, the rat tells the bat to climb up the tree for a change. The bat says that he is unable to climb and would fall down so the rat should climb up. The rat climbs up and gets some food. Finally, the rat tells the bat that he is tired of it and he cannot do it any more. The bat suggests that they exchange the tail and the wings, so the bat is able to climb up the tree. The rat agrees and tears off his wings and gives them to the bat, in return for the bat's tail. The bat climbs up the tree many times and drops all nuts. The bat gets the idea of keeping the wings while the rat is gathering the nuts and making a little pile. The fruit bat flies away, saying to the rat that he has tricked the rat and keeps the wings forever. The rat replies that he will keep the nuts by himself. The bat say that he has the wings, and so he does not mind the rat keeping the nuts and his tail. The rat climbs up to get his wings back in vain and he ends up falling down. Ever since the fruit bat has been a flying creature, keeping the rat's wings while the rat has been a walking creature on the ground with the fruit bat's tail. Therefore the rat is active at night and lives in dark holes in the ground, thinking about the old sad incident of having lost his wings. The fruit bat is also nocturnal. It stays in the ledges

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[70]Kuschel, 1975: 102-5.

during the day and comes out to collect food at night since it does not abandon the old habit of sleeping in the holes during the day and strolling at night. Nowadays when we look at the fruit bat, we can see a remnant of the bat's tail.

c) Ureparapara Island[71] (The rat and the rail)

The following story is a native story of Melanesia published by Codrington. The story explains how the rat got its tail and how the rail got red on its forehead.[72]

A rat and a rail find a gaviga-tree (eugenia). They have a dispute as to which of them should climb up the tree to get the ripe fruit on it. The rat finally climbs up the tree. The rail asks the rat to drop a ripe fruit for him. However, the rat eats it all and only throws down the stones. The rail begs again and again. However, the rat throws stones everytime the rail begs. When the rail makes the last petition, the rat throws a red ripe one down on the rail's forehead, and it sticks fast. The angry rail takes an unfolded leaf of a dracaena and thrusts it hard into the rat's rump when the rat comes down. Since then the rat has had a tail which is the unfolded leaf of a dracaena that the rail fixed firmly, and the rail has had a red spot on its forehead which is the *gaviga* fruit that the rat threw down.

d) Samoa (The bat and the rat)

The story of the Bat and the Rat is another famous story about the rat. The following story explains how the bat got its wings and the rat got its tail.[73]

The rat originally had wings. A certain bat asks the rat if he can try on the rat's wings. The rat agrees with the bat and lends the bat his wings. Then the bat flies away and never comes back to return them. There is a proverb which applies to a person who borrows and does not return: "Like the bat with the

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[71]Ureparapara belongs to the Banks Islands in Vanuatu.

[72]Codrington, 1972: 360-1.

[73]Turner, 1884: 216.

rat".

e) Aotearoa / New Zealand (The rat and the lizard)

The following Maori song seems to be associated with the above stories, sharing similar elements although they do not include tricking.[74]

Lizard:	O Rat, O.
Rat:	What !
Lizard:	Come up hither to me.
Rat:	Rat what are we to do here?
Lizard:	To gather the fruit of the trees.
Rat:	The fruit of what trees?
Lizard:	Of the Miro[75] and the Kahikatea[76].
Rat:	O son, our place is here below, we only know how to burrow in the earth, O son.

It is explained that it is evil for them to collect and eat the fruit on the trees, because the men, the Rat and the Lizard belong to the earth and the fruit on the trees are supposed to be for the birds. The song accounts for the evil.

4. Analysis of all versions

(1) The origins of the variants of the story of the White Rabbit of Inaba

The origin of some stories is believed to have been in Southeast Asia. However the stories are also clearly related to Oceanic culture. Therefore, they may have been adapted.[77]

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[74]Davis, 1855: 190.

[75]*Miro*, 'brown pine' or '*prumnopitys ferruginea*' is a native tree. It is seen in lowland forest to an altitude of 1,000 m all over New Zealand. It can grow grow into a very fine specimen tree up to 25 m high, with a trunk up to 1 m across. Its fruit is a favourite food of the native wood pigeon. Its strong turpentine smell attracts the birds (Salmon, 1996: 59-60).

[76]*Kahikatea*, which is also known as *kahika*, 'white pine' or '*podocarpus dacrydioides*' is a native tree. The tallest recorded tree is 60 m. It is seen throughout New Zealand in forests up to 600 m altitude in swampy areas (Salmon, 1996: 51-4).

[77]Dixon, 1916: 203.

i) Dixon's theory

Dixon divided the stories in Indonesia into two groups. The stories in which a mouse-deer plays the role of trickster are mostly found in the south and west of Indonesia such as in Java, Borneo and Sumatra. However these stories are hardly seen in the Philippines. On the other hand, the stories in which an ape or a tortoise figures as the hero trickster are widely spread in the east and north of Indonesia, for instance in Halmahera, northern Sulawesi and the Kepulauan Sangihe Islands as well as in Mindanao and Luzon and among Visayan in the Philippines. Both groups of stories are known among the people whose cultures are influenced by Indian culture at least to some extent. Regarding the first group, the Javanese had the earliest and closest contact with Indian culture, while Borneo and Sumatra were once colonized or ruled by the Modjopahit and other Hindu-Javanese kingdoms which developed in Java in the early Christian era. In Southeast Asia besides Indonesia, such as in Thailand, Cambodia and Vietnam the trickster stories are distributed throughout the area which had strong Indian influence even earlier than in Java. The tales are also largely found among the Malays of the Malay peninsula and even among the Shan of Upper Burma who had contact with Hindu and Buddhist culture. India naturally has the series of the first group whereas Melanesia and farther to the east does not. In contrast with the first group, the second group is distributed in Melanesia while it is hardly known on the Asiatic continent. Some of its themes are also seen in eastern Polynesia and Japan.[78]

Dixon hypothesizes the origins of the two groups as follows. The first group has two origins: Indian origin from the Buddhist Jātakas and other early sources which were probably brought to Indonesia by the Hindu immigrants in the early Christian era and sources which were considered to be locally developed in Indonesia. The second group seem to have originated almost wholly from local origin because the variants are hardly seen in the Asiatic mainland. The stories of the second group are likely to be pure Indonesian tales. The distribution of the second group in Japan, Melanesia and Polynesia is a key point. The

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[78]Ibid: 203-4.

migration of the Polynesian ancestors might have taken place before they had contact with India. According to Dixon's hypothesis, the origins of the Japanese story could be traced back to Indian Buddhist sources or the story might have been brought from the Philippines through Taiwan and the Ryūkyū Islands to Kyūshū and southern Japan.[79]

ii) Chadwick's theory

Chadwick suggests that both Japanese and Polynesian mythologies were influenced by Hindu sources in the eighth century.[80] However, her theory does not seem to be acceptable at present. *Kojiki* was completed in AD 712 and *Nihon shoki* was AD 720. Any influence must have been much earlier. Recent studies on migration in Chapter II place the start of Polynesian migration much earlier than the eighth century. Moreover, in the early Christian era Polynesia seems to have traded with Java, which was already active in trade with the surrounding world and whose trade extended throughout the South China Sea, and along the coasts of Cambodia and Vietnam as far as Canton and India even several centuries before the start of the Christian era.[81]

iii) The transformation of animals

The animals in the stories vary from region to region. This fact gives a clue to finding out the origin and migration of the story. This variation may depend on whether certain animals existed or were common, and also depends on beliefs associated with certain animals in each region. For example, rabbits are generally pictured as cunning liars in Japan. In addition, there is a basic dichotomy between the trickster and the tricked: in almost all cases the trickster is a land animal (rabbit, mouse-deer, ape, jackal, fox, rat etc) while the tricked is a water creature (crocodile, shark, seals, octopus, squid, etc). This dichotomy appears to be maintained from region to region, except perhaps in the case of the bat and butterfly (both aerial creatures).

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[79]Ibid: 204-5.

[80]Chadwick, 1930: 432; Philippi, 1968: 406.

[81]Chadwick, 1930: 443-5.

The original story of the White Rabbit of Inaba seems to have originated in Southeast Asia. In one direcion, the story probably travelled from the Cambodia and Vietnam area to Japan and China, and continued via Japan on to the Kamchatka peninsula and Sakhalin. The animals in the story could have progressively changed as follows: in Cambodia and Vietnam the rabbit tricks a crocodile. In Japan several more crocodiles are introduced. In China the tricked animal, the crocodile changed into tortoises while the rabbit remained as the trickster. In the Kamchatka peninsula and Sakhalin the trickster was transformed into a fox, while the crocodiles changed into seals or whales since these animals are common there.[82]

In another direction the story moved southward from Cambodia and Vietnam to the Malay Peninsula. There the trickster animal may have changed from a rabbit to a mouse-deer, as there are no rabbits in the Malay peninsula. Subsequently numerous stories of mouse-deer were created, which were then introduced into Sumatra, Java and Borneo.

If the story of the mouse-deer and the crocodiles had been introduced from the Malay Peninsula into Cambodia and Vietnam, the trickster would have remained as a mouse-deer, and would not have changed into a rabbit, since mouse-deer exist in Cambodia as well. Therefore, it is unlikely that the story travelled in that direction.[83]

The story travelled further east from Sumatra, Java, Borneo and reached Sulawesi, the Kepulauan Sangihe Islands, the Philippines, New Caledonia and the island of New Guinea and its surrounding islands, where an ape replaced the mouse-deer as the trickster animal, because there were no mouse-deer there, while the tricked animal variously appears as a crocodile, a heron, tortoise or spanish mackerel. Stories in Borneo and the Malay Peninsula have both a mouse-deer and an ape as the trickster since the area was the place where the trickster was transformed.

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[82]Nishioka, 1956, vo.l 29-3: 116-8.

[83]Ibid.

When the story was brought further eastward to Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia, the trickster animal changed into a rat. The tricked animal on the other hand, the crocodile, changed into an octopus, a squid or a starfish etc.

The story also seems to have travelled westward from Vietnam and Cambodia to the India / Sri Lanka area. In India and Sri Lanka, the rabbit was replaced by a jackal, while the crocodile remained, as crocodiles existed in the area.

Hideo Nishioka suggests that the story originated from the India and Sri Lanka area. However, it is more likely, as a result of the migration movements explained in chapter II, that the story originated in Southeast Asia and travelled from there to India and Sri Lanka.

iv) Intermediate variants

Some stories have intermediate elements of the two stories. They are also the key to illustrate the transformation and migration of the original story. Intermediate variations of the story share common elements from two sides.

Some trickster stories in Southeast Asia, Melanesia and Micronesia show intermediate variations between the Japanese story and Polynesian (or Melanesian) stories. Southeast Asian stories have a closer relationship with Polynesian and Japanese stories than Polynesian and Japanese stories have with each other. Therefore, numerous stories in Japan and Polynesia may have originated from Southeast Asia. The following stories are examples.

A. The story of the Ape, the Heron (or Crane) and the Crocodiles

The story of the Ape, the Heron (or Crane) and the Crocodiles from the island of New Guinea is located between Japan and Polynesia. The story of the Bat and the Rat, which is distributed from Melanesia to Polynesia and the Maori song of the Rat and the Lizard seem to have originated from the story of the Ape, the Heron (or Crane) and the Crocodiles. The first part of the story of the Ape, the Heron (or Crane) and the Crocodiles shares some common motifs

with the stories and the song. The wings of the flying creature are taken off. The trickster is after the fruit on the tree and eats them. The second part of the story of the Ape, the Heron (or Crane) and the Crocodiles is almost the same as the story of the White Rabbit of Inaba and its variants in Southeast Asia and Indonesia: counting the number of the crocodiles while the trickster jumps on the backs of the crocodiles. The flying creature losing his wings can be compared to the rabbit being skinned. The story of the Octopus and the Rat also has closer relationship with the second part of the story, such as crossing the sea by taking advantage of the other animal. The story of the White Rabbit of Inaba and the story of the Octopus and the Rat may have originated from the story of the Ape and the Heron and the Crocodiles, too. Therefore, the story of the Ape and the Heron and the Crocodiles was perhaps the original, being an intermediate variant, and it spread north to become the story of the White Rabbit of Inaba and south to become the story of the Octopus and the Rat.

B. The story of the Rat and the Butterfly

The story of the Rat and the Butterfly from the most southern part of the island of New Guinea is another example of an intermediate variant, since it is placed between Southeast Asia and Polynesia. This story is related to three stories although tricking is not seen. This story and the story of the Octopus and the Rat share the following motifs: the animals making a journey in a canoe; one animal carrying the other while crossing the sea. The story is associated with the story of the Bat and the Rat, too: longing for fruit on the tree, climbing up the trees, and eating the fruits. The story also shares some common elements with the story of the Ape, the Heron (or Crane) and the Crocodiles as follows: longing for fruit on a tree and eating them. The story sees to have originated from the story of the Ape, the Heron (or Crane) and the Crocodiles, and to have spread south to become the story of the Octopus and the Rat and also the story of the Bat and Rat.

C. The story of the Land crab and the Rat

This story from Ulithi Atoll is an amalgam of "the Ape and the Tortoise", "the

Rat and the Rail" and "the Octopus and the Rat". The last plot about cats chasing rats would have been told about some other animal originally, because cats were brought into the Carolines by Europeans.[84]

The story consists of two parts: the land episode and the sea episode.[85] In the first part, two friends try to get fruit out of a tree, one climbing up the tree and keeping the good of fruit all to himself, while the other does not get any of it, being unable to climb. The first part of the story shares common elements with "the Ape and the Tortoise", and "the Rat and the Rail". Since some parts of Melanesia, Micronesia and West Polynesia were probably settled from Southeast Asia, possible migration of the story can be illustrated. The story from Ulithi Atoll may have originated from "the Ape and the Tortoise" which is distributed from Southeast Asia to New Guinea while in turn "The Rat and the Rail" from Vanuatu may have originated from the story.

In the second part the two animals go canoeing. Their canoe sinks and the trickster animal nearly drowns. The rescuer, who is always a sea creature, passes by and helps him. The trickster is nasty to his rescuer and kills him instead of being grateful to him. This explains how two species of animals become enemies. The second part shares common elements with "the Octopus and the Rat" from Polynesia, and may be its originator since Polynesia was probably settled from west to east.

D. The story of the Ape and the Tortoise

The story of the Ape and the Tortoise is distributed over Southeast Asia, and Melanesia. The story shares the following elements with the story of the Bat and the Rail: climbing the tree, one animal eating all the fruit on the tree, and revenge by the other animal. The story also shares the same motifs with the story of the Ape, the Heron (or Crane) and the Crocodiles: longing after the fruit on the tree and eating the fruit.

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[84]Lessa, 1961: 70.

[85]Ibid: 245.

E. The story of the Ape and the Shark

The story of the Ape and the Shark which is distributed over Southeast Asia can be regarded as an intermediate variant. The story is associated with the story of the Octopus and the Rat as follows: one animal getting nearly drowned; a sea creature coming to rescue the animal. The story also shares an element with the story of the White Rabbit of Inaba: crossing the sea by tricking the other.

Overall Southeast Asia seems to be the place of origin of these trickster stories since similar trickster stories are found in the area surrounding it.

(2) Common elements

Stories similar to the story of the white rabbit of Inaba are found both to the north and to the south of Japan. However the number found to the south is much larger. Further studies are needed to find reasons for this. The following are common elements among the trickster stories.

i) Crossing water

There is a plot that the trickster crosses the river or the sea in most stories. In most variants, the reasons for the trickster to cross water are explained at the beginning. There is something which attracts the trickster on the opposite bank or island, such as their favourite food or family, or the trickster is swept away by a deluge and he wants to go back home in Asian versions. In Polynesian, Micronesian and Melanesian variants the canoe in which the trickster is sinks and he has to cross the sea to get to the shore. But in all cases the trickster crosses a stretch of water. However, the Japanese story does not clearly give any reason. As the purpose of the Japanese story emphasizes more on the character of Opo-kuni-nusi-nö-mikötö, some unimportant motifs may have been omitted from the original story. Therefore the Japanese version is likely to be less close to the original story.[86]

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[86]Matsubara, 1983: 109-10.

ii) Characters and fate of the trickster

The character of the trickster is depicted as follows: a liar, irresponsible, greedy, witty and smart. The ending of the plot diverges from version to version, depending how the trickster is regarded in each region. If the trickster is regarded as a bad cunning liar who deceives others, he ends up being treated badly in the plot: having his tail cut off, being skinned alive, or getting killed. On the other hand the hero ends up escaping from the pursuit if he is identified as a clever and sucessful trickster who makes an impossible problem possible or solves a difficult problem with his wit. This story describes both vice and virtue in humans through the characteristics of the hero. As mentioned earlier the role of Opo-kuni-nusi-nö-mikötö is the most important in the Japanese story. The hero is not the rabbit as in other versions, but Opo-kuni-nusi-nö-mikötö. Thereafter rabbit is treated badly by the crocodiles in the end because the aim of the plot is to portray Opo-kuni-nusi-nö-mikötö as a kind saviour.[87] In Japan rabbits are regarded as clever animals. There is a shrine called the White Rabbit of Inaba shrine which worships a rabbit as a god.[88]

iii) Crocodiles

Wani, meaning 'crocodile', appears as the tricked animal in the Japanese story. Crocodiles are a key in order to trace the origins of the Japanese myth. *Wani* is also the name of one of the powerful clans in ancient Japan,which also appears in other stories in *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki.*

As mentioned earlier, crocodiles did not exist in Japan. This begs the question why crocodiles appear in the myth. There are several hypotheses about the origins of the word *wani* and the word has been interpreted differently. There are two theories about *wani*. The first maintains that *wani* does not imply crocodile. Some scholars such as Kariya, Shiratori and Yoshida have suggested

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[87]Ibid: 110.

[88]Nishioka, 1956, vo.I 29-3: 118.

that the story was locally developed in Japan and *wani* could mean another kind of a native sea creature like a shark, simply because crocodiles do not exist in Japan.[89] In the story of Po-wori-nö-mikötö in *Kojiki*, a one-length *wani* takes Po-wori-nö-mikötö back home and Po-wori-nö-mikötö gives the *wani* a dagger. The *wani* is called today a deity Sapi-möti-nö-kamï, meaning 'a deity who has a dagger.[90] *Izumo fudoki* explains that a local girl was bitten by a *wani* which commentators have assumed to be a kind of a Spanish mackerel called '*wani* shark'.[91] Therefore *wani* is interpreted as probably a sea creature who has sharp teeth, a shark.[92] Tsuda argues that *wani* was a sea snake, however his theory is not widely supported. Horiguchi suggests that some crocodiles drifted from the south and they were seen in the Japanese coastal area. It could be possible. However there is no archaeological evidence from their bones being found in Japan, and this does not deny that the story was originally from the south.[92] The second theory is that *wani* is identified as a crocodile from the south. From the foregoing analysis, there is no doubt that they were crocodiles in the myth and that the story originates from the south since there are so many similar stories in the south. The original story therefore probably came from somewhere in the south where crocodiles exist. Many scholars including Nishioka support this theory at present.[93]

Nakayama hypothesized that people who had a crocodile as their totem migrated from the south and the story belonged to them, as *wani* are treated well in the story of the Kotoshironushi-no-mikoto from Miho-no-seki in Shimane prefecture and the legend of Wani-ura from Kashiwa island in Saga prefecture. In the story of Kotoshironusi-no-mikoto who is the deity worshipped at the Miho-no-seki shrine, Kotoshironushi-no-mikoto once visits the princess Yagami and forgets the passing of time. He hurries as the cock crows, and loses a paddle and uses his hand instead. He is bitten by a *wani*. It is said that since then people in Miho-no-seki were prohibited from keeping hens and eating their eggs. The people favoured *wani* over hens. In the legend of Wani-ura a *wani* changes

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[89]Nishioka, 1956, vo.I 29-2: 23.

[90]Ibid; Philippi, 1968: 154-5; 406-7; Tsugita, 1996: 201-5.

[91]Nishioka, 1956, vo.I 29-2: 25; Philippi, 1968: 407.

[92]Nishioka, 1956, vo.I 29-2: 25-6.

[93]Nishioka, 1956, vo.I 29-3: 117;119-20; Senda, 1995: 71; Tsugita, 1996: 112-3.

his appearance into a human male and lives with a local woman. His secret is found out and he is killed. The place of the legend is called Wani-ura meaning, 'Crocodile Bay or Creek' because there is a mound in which the *wani* 's bones were buried.

According to Nakamura, *wani* in the story indicates people who migrated from the south. He suggests that the rabbit in the story implies mountain people and the crocodile represents coastal people, therefore the crocodile is depicted as a water craft. Shiroyanagi supports Nakamura's theory and argues that the country which was the model of the sea deity's realm existed around the Vietnam, Thailand and Burma area because *wani* appears in the story of the marriage of Po-wori-nö-mikötö and Toyo-tama-bime-nö-mikötö. Therefore the southern origin theory is the most plausible and *wani* is sometimes even regarded as the crocodile from tropical regions. This theory was present in the *Wamyōshō* written in the Heian period. Since then Kume, Takagi and Horioka have argued that the people who had the myth of the rabbit and the crocodile migrated to Japan from the south. Nishimura suggested in 1927 that the homeland of these people could be Indonesia. In 1931 Tokugawa stated that there were similar stories in the Malay Peninsula, and that its southern origin was proven. Nakata also believed that the story may have been brought along with the migration of people on the Japanese current from the south. Moreover Matsumoto argued in 1942 that the Japanese word *wani* belongs to the same language group as the Malayan *buaya* (*buwaya*) and the Javanese *wu(h)aya* and *woea* and *wuae* in other southern languages which all mean 'crocodile'. He also stated that besides similar stories to that of the rabbit and the crocodile being found among Indonesian stories, similar stories with legends of Toyo-tama-bime-nö-mikötö, (a story in which a crocodile falls in love with a female deity and a story in *Izumo fudoki* in which a part of a woman's leg is found when the belly of a crocodile, who ate the woman, is torn), are seen in the Malay Peninsula and Java area. Matsumura pointed out in 1946 that Japanese myths are closer to myths in the south Pacific region than myths in America and Africa because of the geographical closeness. Similar stories to *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* and local legends are found in Indonesia. In addition, the cultures of the Asian continent were brought to Japan through the Malay

Peninsula, Sumatra, Java and so on by the people in the south.[94]

As explained above, *Wani* in the story probably refers to crocodiles from the south, perhaps from Southeast Asia. This supports the theory that the story originated from Southeast Asia and goes against Nishioka's theory that the story originated from the India and Sri Lanka area.

iv) A sea creature as carrier

Matusoka argues that the word *wani* may share the same origins as the Micronesian word *wa* and the Fijian word *wanika* which both mean 'a ship'. In both *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, *wani* is sometimes depicted as a carrier on the sea. As mentioned earlier, in the story of Po-wori-nö-mikötö in *Kojiki*, a *wani* carries Po-wori-nö-mikötö on its back.[95] This idea that sea creatures carry people on their backs is also seen in other Polynesian stories. In the story of the Rat and Octopus, the octopus carries the rat. In the story of Kae and his relations with Sinilau from Tonga, Kae is carried on the backs of two whales from Samoa to Tonga.[95] In the Maori version from New Zealand a whale carries Kae.[96] In the Samoan stories of Tinilau collected by Turner and Krämer, turtles replace the whales.[97] In a version of the story of Kae recorded by Handy from the Marquesas, a whale is depicted as a conveyer.[98] In the story of Hina and the turtle and the story of Hina and Tinilau in Tokelau, a turtle carries Hina.[99] In some Polynesian myths, a shark also plays the role of carrying a person on its back.[100]

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[94]Nishioka, 1956, vo.I 29-2: 26-31.

[95]Chadwick, 1930: 434.

[96]Grey, 1969: 70.

[97]Chadwick, 1930: 435; Karmer, 1994: 160; Turner, 1884: 110.

[98]Chadwick, 1930: 436.

[99]Benson, 1993: 29-30; Huntsman, 1977: 7.

[100]Chadwick, 1930: 438.

5. Conclusion

Numerous similarities are found between the Japanese, Southeast Asian and Polynesian trickster myths. Furthermore, transformation of the story from place to place can be illustrated, and both Japanese and Polynesian myths seem to have originated in Southeast Asia.[101] Therefore, like the similarities in the cosmogony myths which are classified as Eliade's *true stories*[102], similarities between Japanese and Polynesian trickster myths which belong to Eliade's *false stories* do not seem to be coincidental either.

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[101]See map on page 170 below.

[102]Eliade, 1963: 8-9.

Chapter VII. Summary and Conclusion

Recent studies show that it is feasible that early migrations took place from Southeast Asia to Polynesia, and also from Southeast Asia to Japan. Archaeological evidence and other studies suggest that western Polynesia was settled around the period between 1500 BC and 500 BC and that western Polynesians subsequently migrated to eastern Polynesia sometime during the last few centuries BC. Furthermore, the ancestors of the Polynesians seem to be of Southeast Asian origin. On the other hand, recent studies suggest that the Jōmon people, the Ainu and the Okinawans share common physical characteristics and cultural elements with Southeast Asians. This supports the theory that both Japanese and Polynesian mythologies may have originated from Southeast Asian mythology.

From the recent studies, which are detailed in Chapter II, it can be seen that the Jōmon people clearly share common physical characteristics with the present people of Southeast Asia. The Ainu and the Okinawans may be descendants of the Jōmon people, because they appear to have retained cultural and physical characteristics of the Jōmon people. Furthermore, the Jōmon, Ainu and Okinawan cultures also share common elements with those of Southeast Asia.

Studies have also shown that people in the Pacific islands, such as Polynesians and Micronesians, share common genetic characteristics as well as cultural and linguistic similarities with Southeast Asians.

Overall, it could be hypothesized that the earliest inhabitants of Japan may have migrated from Southeast Asia while people in Southeast Asia also moved eastwards and settled in western Polynesia.

Southeast Asians may have brought their culture and mythology to both Japan and Polynesia. Studies on mythology from Chapters III to VI in connection with both areas support this notion.

There is no doubt that Japanese mythology consists of various elements which

originated from various sources in different regions. Southeast Asian mythology is regarded as one of the origins of Japanese mythology. Furthermore, Southeast Asia seems to be the point of origin for Polynesian myths, too. Polynesian mythology also shares common elements with Japanese mythology, and the relationship beween them does not appear to be coincidental. The comparative study of Japanese mythology and Polynesian mythology from Chapters III to VI demonstrates this relationship.

Numerous common elements have been found between the Japanese and Polynesian cosmogony myths. In both mythologies the world emerges from nothingness and develops step by step. Next, a world of brightness and an underworld are created, and important genealogies are listed, a woman becoming the first victim of death and her husband following her to the underworld, where the eating of food has a special significance, and so on. The trickster myth "The White Rabbit of Inaba" can also be used to demonstrate similarities between the two mythologies. Variants of the trickster story of the White Rabbit of Inaba have been found throughout Southeast Asia and Austronesia. In variants of the story, different animals appears from region to region. The story of the Octopus and the Rat from Polynesia seems to be one of the variants of the story.

The distribution of variants of a story can demonstrate its origins. In the area between Japan and Polynesia similar trickster stories to both the story of the White Rabbit of Inaba and the story of the Octopus and the Rat are seen. The intermediate point, Southeast Asia, appears to be where the story originated.

The way the story has transformed could also give clues to the origins. For instance, as transformation of some myths are pinpointed in the previous chapter, the story of the Ape, the Heron (or Crane) and the crocodiles from the island of New Guinea is an intermediate variant, having two parts in the story. The first part of "the Ape, the Heron and the Crocodiles" shares common elements with "the Bat and the Rat" from Melanesia to Polynesia. The last part of "the Ape, the Heron and the Crocodiles" shares common elements with "The White Rabbit of Inaba" and its variants in Southeast Asia. This illustrates the migration route of the myth: one direction from Southeast Asia to Japan

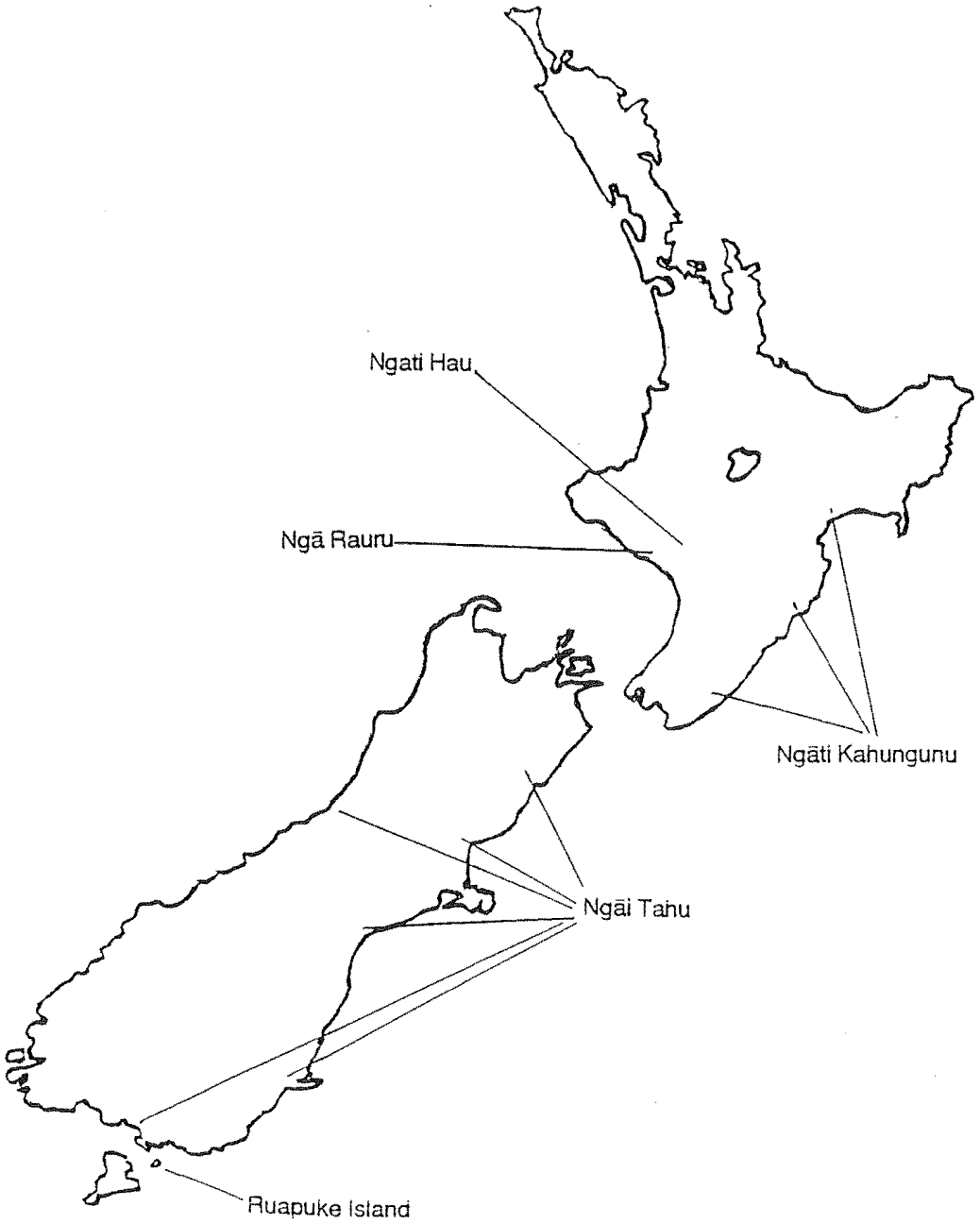
and the other direction is from Southeast Asia, to Melanesia and Polynesia. There are also some other trickster myths which demonstrate their origins in Southeast Asia, having their variants in the region surrounding Southeast Asia, such as " the Rat and the Butterfly" from the most southern part of the island of New Guinea, "the Ape and the Tortoise" which is distributed over Southeast Asia, and "the Ape and the Shark" which is distributed over Southeast Asia .

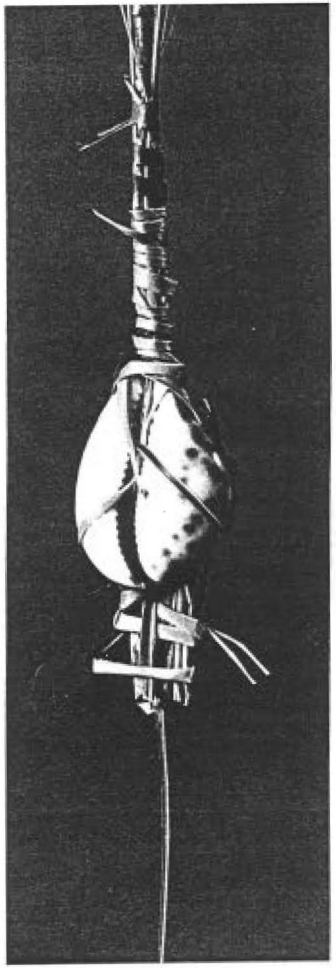
Overall, it is clear that at least some of Japanese mythology is linked with Polynesian mythology, sharing a common origin in Southeast Asia.

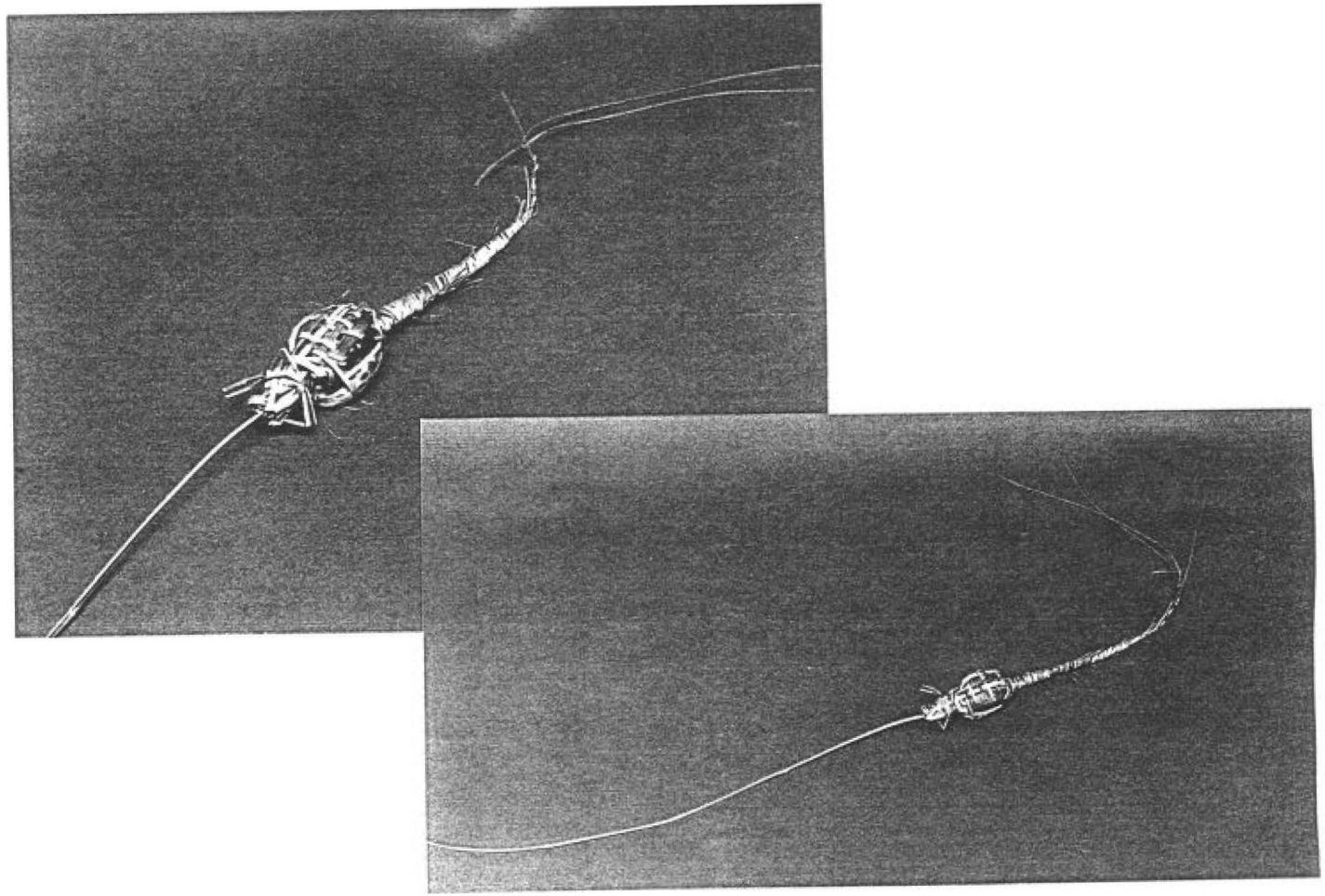
The migration of people can be matched to the migration of mythologies. A study of the migration of mythologies supports the view that Polynesia was initially settled by Southeast Asians. Southeast Asians would have brought mythology and culture to Japan and Polynesia, since variants of myths in Southeast Asia are found in both Japan and Polynesia. As a result, Japanese and Polynesian mythology are related to each other not by accident. However further studies on mythology in the region between Japan and Polynesia are needed to support this theory, and to pinpoint further exactly which elements are shared.

Appendices

Māori Tribal Locations

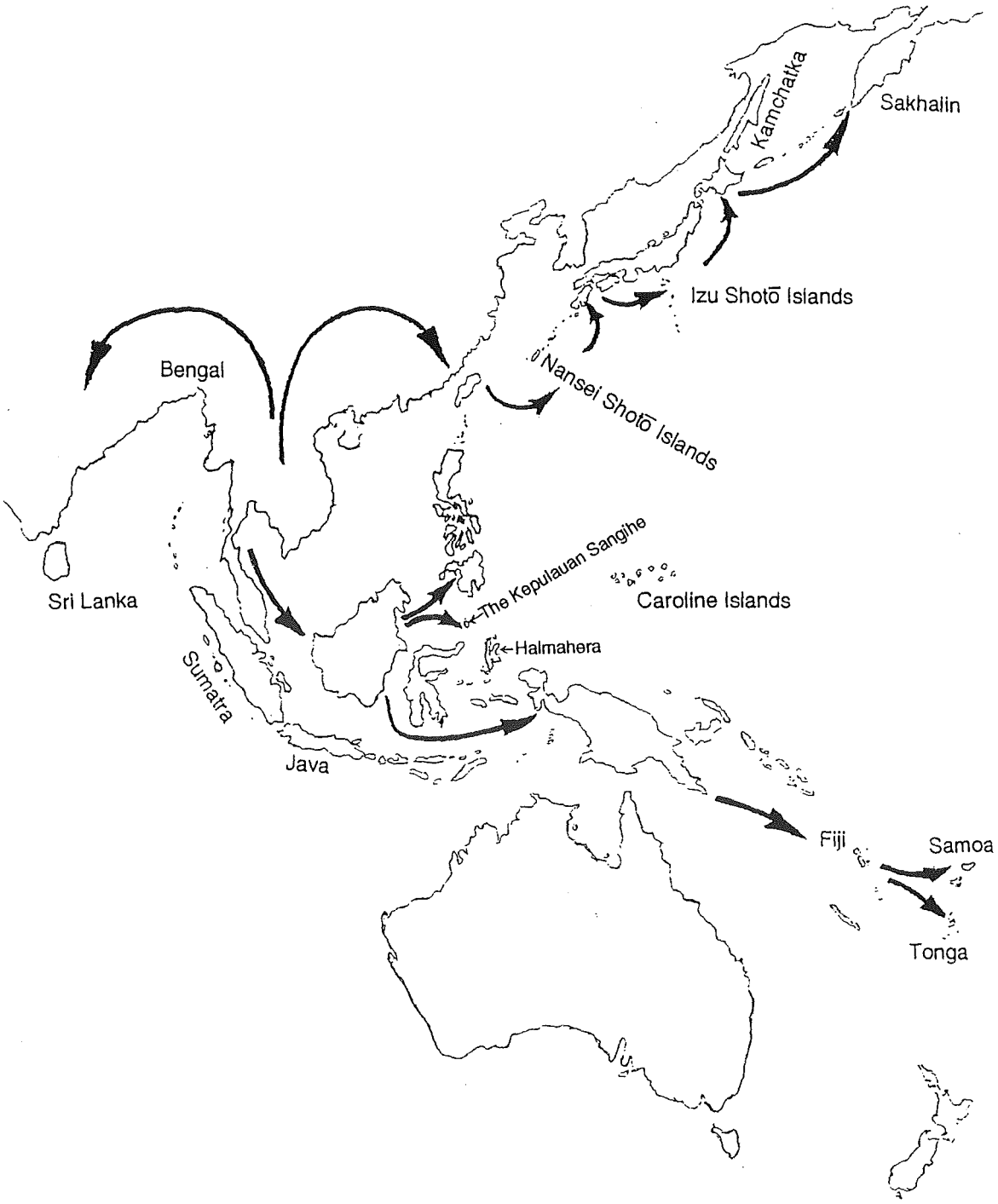






Rat-shaped device for catching octopus,
as used in Samoa (see p. 121).
Device made by Teta Pa'ō Sopōaga.

Possible Travelling Routes of the Trickster Myth



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Abbreviations

JPS Journal of the Polynesian Society
TPNZI Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute

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